A Companion to the Eucharist
in the Reformation

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A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation

Edited by

Lee Palmer Wandel

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KEY NAMES

José de Acosta, SJ (1540–1600)
Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626)
Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274)
Augustine of Hippo (354–430)
Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621)
Berengar of Tours (c. 1010–1088)
Gabriel Biel (1420–1495)
Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584)
Martin Bucer (1491–1551)
Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558)
Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575)
Thomas de Vio Cajetan OP (1469–1534)
John Calvin (1509–1564)
Clement VII (Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici, b. 1478) Pope 1523–34
Lucas Cranach the Elder (1475–1553)
Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515–1586)
Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556)
John Donne (1572–1631)
John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308)
Diego Durán, OP (1537–1588)
Guillaume Durand (c. 1230–1296)
Conrad Grebel (c. 1498–1526)
Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni, b. 1502) Pope 1572–85
George Herbert (1593–1633)
Balthasar Hubmaier (c. 1480–1528)
Jan Hus (1369–1415)
Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541)
Adam Kraft (c. 1460–1509)
William Laud (1573–1645)
Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781)
Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160)
Martin Luther (1483–1546)
Pilgram Marpeck (d. 1556)
Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560)
John Milton (1608–1674)

Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, OFM (1482–1568)
William of Ockham (1288–1347)
Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531)
Paul III (Alessandro Farnese, b. 1468) Pope 1534–49
Pius IV (Giovanni Angelo Medici, b. 1499) Pope 1559–65
Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM (c. 1550–1590)
Caspar von Schwenckfeld (1489–1561)
Menno Simons (1496–1561)
Dominic de Soto OP (1494–1560)
Diego Valadés, OFM (1533–1582)
John Wyclif (c. 1330–1384)
Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531)

INTRODUCTION

Lee Palmer Wandel

> The first Holy Mass was said on "the same night in which he was betrayed" (1 Corinthians 11:23)
>
> Josef Andreas Jungmann, S.J., *Missarum Sollemnia*[1]

In 1939, as Nazi forces first abolished the theological faculty of the University of Innsbruck, then seized the Canisianum and closed the Collegium Maximum, the Jesuit Josef Jungmann (1889–1975), finding, as he wrote, his time freed, decided to write what he would call a "genetic" clarification of the Roman Mass, what would be translated into English as *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*.[2] Like Fernand Braudel, severed from libraries but seeking to record in the face of so many annihilations, Jungmann took up a topic in some ways not unlike the Mediterranean—connecting lives and things across time and distance, vibrant, vital, and at center, in different ways, in so many lives.[3]

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[1] Josef Andreas Jungmann S.J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: It Origins and Development*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Allen, TX, 1986), p. 7; idem, "Die Feier der heiligen Messe hat ihren Anfang genommen 'in der Nacht, in der Er verraten wurde,'" *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine Genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1962; Bonn, 2003), 1:9. Jungmann published the first edition of *Missarum Sollemnis* in 1948; during his lifetime, it underwent five editions.

[2] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, p. v. Jungmann's notion of "organic development" has proven especially important for modern thinking on the liturgy. See, for example, Alcuin Reid, O.S.B., *The Organic Development of the Liturgy: The Principles of Liturgical Reform and Their Relation to the Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement Prior to the Second Vatican Council* (San Francisco, 2005).

[3] Jungmann was not the first to write a history of the Mass. In *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (London, 1914), Adrian Fortescue offered a brief "History of the Mass." Fortescue posited a Mass immediately universal and far more constant over time. In his article, "Liturgy of the Mass," in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (first published in 1910), he defines the Mass: "the complex of prayers and ceremonies that make up the service of the Eucharist in Latin rites . . . From the time of the first preaching of the Christian Faith in the West, as everywhere, the Holy Eucharist was celebrated as Christ had instituted it in the Last Supper, according to His command, in memory of him." See Adrian Fortescue, "Liturgy of the Mass," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1910), accessed July 21, 2012, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09790b.htm. In 1926, Hans Lietzmann had published a very different narrative, *Messe und Herrenmahl: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (Berlin, 1926), "the most comprehensive and exhaustive inquiry into eucharistic origins," in the words of Robert Douglas Richardson, who wrote the introduction and

A deceptively simple word, typically written as a singular noun, "the Mass" names what Karl Young treated as a drama—a sequence of acts, gestures, and words sometimes spoken, sometimes chanted that, again and again, carry those attending through a movement: from preparation, through thanksgiving, to communion with God, and then a return to the world outside.[4] "The Mass," as Jungmann noted, was not the oldest name. The earliest Christians called their shared act and words "the breaking of bread." And from the turn of the first century, it became known as "Eucharistia," a Greek word for thanksgiving which in that first century became associated with a meal. Other words—oblatio, sacrum, leiturgia, officium—were also used, intimating the growing density of meanings Christian communities were articulating as their collective worship acquired more parts and voices, discrete gestures, prayers, and texts. "The Mass [Missa]," as Jungmann argued, comes from "ite missa est," the final words the priest speaks to dismiss the congregation—three words that themselves emerged over time as what was "done in remembrance" grew in significance and complexity.[5] "Ite missa est" marked the establishment of a priestly office, a space designated for the purpose of communal worship, and a "rite," another word central to Jungmann's analysis, which, in having a discrete ending, was a segment of time set apart, possessing its own temporal sequence, repeated again and again.

Jungmann divided his history into what he called "the Mass ceremonies in detail;" parts he then further divided into discrete acts and texts.[6] The division of two volumes roughly follows the separation of what he called

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provided roughly a second volume of "Further Inquiry" to the English translation of Lietzmann's work, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy*, trans. Dorothea H.G. Reeve (Leiden, 1979), p. ix. More recently, Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J. wrote a history combined with a consideration of the western Latin theology of eucharistic sacrifice, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, ed. Robert J. Daly, S.J. (Collegeville, 2004 [1998]).

[4] Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933). Dom Gregory Dix divided the liturgy into four "actions": Offertory, Consecration, Fraction, Communion. See Gregory, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945).

[5] Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 1:225–233. Fortescue analyzes the word, "Mass," at greater length, but also argues this origin, in "Liturgy of the Mass."

[6] In the first volume, Jungmann divided the Fore-Mass into two: the Opening or Entrance Rite and the Service of Readings. The Opening encompassed the Præparatio ad Missam, putting on liturgical vestments, the prayers at the foot of the altar, the Confiteor, Greetings and kissing the altar, incensing the altar, the Introit chant, the Kyrie Eleison, the Gloria, the Collect, which he treated in two parts. The Service of Readings encompassed the Epistle, chants, the Gospel, the homily, the Credo, the dismissals, and the general prayer of the Church. The Sacrifice of the Mass encompassed four parts—the Offertory, the Canon Actionis, the Communion Cycle, and the Close of the Mass—each of which

the "Fore-Mass" (also called the Mass of the Catechumens)[7] from the "Sacrifice of the Mass" (or, as others have called it, the Mass of the Faithful).[8] That tension, between the simple name "the Mass" and the dense complex of acts and texts he methodically differentiated, is worth keeping in mind in the following essays. In them, authors, by way of a shorthand, speak of "the Mass," but those two words encompass the donning of particular vestments; genuflections; prayers; kissing and incensing the altar; the Kyrie Eleison; the Gloria; the Collect; the Epistle or Lesson; the Gospel; a homily; the Credo; the Offertory procession, chant, and presentation of the offerings on the altar; the washing of hands; the Secretum; the Oblation; the Action of the Canon in all its drama, with the consecration, the elevation of the host and chalice, and the remembering of the dead; the Communion, with the Lord's Prayer and the action of the sacrament; and the end of the Mass, with its final prayers, dismissal, and benediction.

In acknowledging discrete histories for distinctive parts, Jungmann echoed the sixteenth century. Martin Luther (1483–1546), as Thomas Schattauer shows in his contribution, divided the Mass into parts and considered them separately in formulating his liturgy. As James F. Turrell writes, the eucharistic rite of Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) was "an amalgam" of the ancient Sarum missal, a new vernacular Order of Communion of 1548, and other materials, following the basic structure of the Sarum Use. In many places, such as Strasbourg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Basel, ancient and familiar liturgical practices were questioned, sometimes altered, sometimes abandoned, sometimes subsequently restored or incorporated in new ways, as pastoral and civic leaderships changed, and as their conceptualizations of "liturgy" and "sacrament" changed.[9]

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was also separated into distinct acts and words. That division differs from Fortescue's as well as Dix's.

[7] See, for example, Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Amsterdam, 1723–1728), cited in Isabelle Brian's contribution to this volume.

[8] Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*. The *Saint Joseph Daily Missal*, ed. Hugo H. Hoever (New York, 1950), one of the most popular modern books to explain the Tridentine Mass to Catholic laity, divides the Mass into two Masses: the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful, the latter of which corresponds to Jungmann's Opfermesse.

[9] Nicholas Thompson touches upon the political import of the Eucharist in German-speaking Europe in his contribution. On Augsburg, see my *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge, 2006), ch. 2. See Walther Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther: Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religösen Beziehungen*, 2 vols. (Gütersloh, 1953); and Emidio Campi and Ruedi Reich, eds., *Consensus Tigurinus: Die Einigung zwischen Heinrich Bullinger und Johannes Calvin über des Abendmahl, Werden—Wertung—Bedeutung* (Zurich, 2009).

Of the two-volume, 1300-page study, Jungmann dedicated the second volume to what he called "die Opfermesse," the Sacrifice of the Mass. As Robert J. Daly, S.J. reveals in his contribution to this volume, the association of the Mass with a notion of "sacrifice" was ancient, but it was only in the wake of sixteenth-century critiques that the Council of Trent (1545–1563) formally decreed a doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, a decree which itself then set in motion decades of discussion and efforts to arrive at some kind of clarity on so complex an idea.

Under the broad rubric of the sacrifice of the Mass, Jungmann placed the longest chapter, on the Canon of the Mass—the single most disputed part of the Mass in the sixteenth century. In addition to framing the sacrament of communion in terms of sacrifice, the Canon was the textual location in the Mass for the doctrine of transubstantiation—a way of conceptualizing the relationship of the "elements," the bread and the wine, to Christ's words "my body" and "my blood" at the Last Supper. In its opening "Constitutions," the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 first decreed what would become doctrine at the Council of Trent, some three hundred and fifty years later:

> [Christ's] body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread and wine having been changed in substance, by God's power, into his body and blood, so that in order to achieve this mystery of unity we receive from God what he received from us. Nobody can effect this sacrament except a priest who has been properly ordained according to the church's keys, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors.[10]

Though Fourth Lateran sought to stabilize debate, as Gary Macy shows in his contribution, the question of the relationship of the bread and the wine to Christ's body and blood was protean, engendering new questions and puzzles from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.

Macy's overview of medieval eucharistic thinking offers an important and telling counterpoint to Jungmann's notion of a single line of history.[11]

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[10] Norman P. Tanner, S.J., ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London, 1990), 1:230. The Latin text introduces key terms: "Iesus Christus, cuius corpus et anguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate divina . . . .".

[11] See the excellent Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall, eds., *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011). Lietzmann allowed for multiple traditions, multiple lines of living practice from the meal Christ shared with his apostles to modern Churches, writing a history of heterogeneity, rather than authorized descent.

Macy presents a world of multiple strands of thought, questions, and distinctive positions. John Wyclif (c. 1330–1384), to take but one famous example, emerges not as a solitary oppositional voice, but as a person whose questions crossed from a field of heterogeneity into heresy. A growing body of research offers eloquent evidence that the Roman Rite was one of many forms, that there were significant local differences, as well as structural differences between, say, a Mass celebrated in an urban cathedral such as Notre Dame and a Mass celebrated in a monastery, let alone a Mass celebrated in a small parish church.

Jungmann's argument for the "genetic" development of a single rite, the Roman Rite, was not merely the antithesis of a history of heterogeneity, of multiple practices and understandings. In its very conceptualization, that notion of "genetic" responds to a challenge posed in the sixteenth century—the challenge that itself engendered the need to construct a history of the Mass.[12] In the first decades of the sixteenth century, theologians and pastors, carpenters, shoemakers, domestic servants, and peasants labeled the Mass, in its complexity and density, a "human innovation." They claimed that liturgical practices current in their cities were the product of human imagination, human tinkering, human adaptations of a divinely ordained worship. While Luther preserved parts of the ancient Mass, many others in the sixteenth century did not,[13] at once distinguishing essentially between "the Mass" and "the Eucharist," and rejecting entirely the Mass in that term, "human innovation"—no longer connected in any way to the meal Jesus had shared with his disciples. For them, the ancient meal, "the Eucharist," was not to be found in what John Calvin (1509–1564) called "mere ceremony," the Mass.

Underpinning that particular critique of the Mass were two premises: a sense of living in a time remote from the life of Christ; and a changing understanding of the nature and location of authority for defining Christian life. Those who voiced that perception of the Mass were acutely sensitive to the time between the sixteenth century and Christ's life. One of the bitterest debates centered upon the present location of Christ's body.[14] Was it, as the medieval Church had taught, there, really, corporeally in real blood and flesh, in the sacrament of communion? Was it, as Luther

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[12] For an alternate history, see John Rempel's contribution to this volume.

[13] See the contributions of Raymond A. Mentzer and Michele Hanson.

[14] Cf. Lee Palmer Wandel, "The Body of Christ at Marburg, 1529," in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Walter Melion and Reindert Falkenberg (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 195–213.

taught, "next to" the elements, the bread and wine, in the sacrament? Was it, as Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) argued, following the beloved and ancient Apostles' Creed, "at the right hand of the Father"? The question was no esoteric point of doctrine. It went to the very heart of the sixteenth-century crisis: how is Christ present among his faithful 1500 years after his death and resurrection? How is the living present to be connected to the life of Christ? Is God present among his faithful, in body as well as in spirit?

If an awareness of the passing of time was one premise, the second was where those critics located the authority for judging the Mass in its entirety and in its parts. For roughly a millennium, European Christians had located authority broadly in what we now call "tradition," and what the Latin *traditio* more fully captures: a multitude of distinctive voices, heterogeneous, usually recorded in texts, but at one point living, and in living, adapting and interpreting, passing down from generation to generation a living understanding of mysteries.[15] For them, Jerome's Latin translation of the Old and New Testaments was one source but not the exclusive source. Commentaries, *summae*, glosses, and other texts also belonged to that *traditio* of human efforts to understand divine mysteries. In the sixteenth century, a significant minority of European Christians, in the shadow of all the epistemological challenges of the "New World,"[16] accorded sovereign authority to what they often called "God's Word," which they, for the most part, located in the codicil Bible or Scripture. This volume calls "Evangelicals" those who accorded that one codex definitive authority over all forms of what they tended to call "human authority"—pope, bishops, emperor, kings, or magistrates, and extending to Church Fathers as authoritative as Augustine remained.[17] That name distinguishes them from both medieval Christians and early modern Catholics, those who, in the sixteenth century, continued to recognize the authority of the

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[15] Cf. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1971–1989).

[16] On the epistemological challenges of the New World, see foremost Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982); and *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, 1993). See also Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *New World Encounters* (Berkeley, 1993).

[17] Peter Blickle calls this particular conceptualization of the authority of the Bible "biblicism." See *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*, trans. Thomas A. Brady and H.C. Erik Midelfort (Baltimore, 1985). "Protestants" was a name given to those German princes and Free Imperial Cities who signed the Protest of Speyer. See the documents in B.J. Kidd, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford, 1967 (1911)), chap. 32.

papal and sacerdotal hierarchy centered in Rome and "tradition," as the Council of Trent was to invoke as the hermeneutic for Scripture.[18]

All European Christians agreed that the Eucharist was rooted in Christ's commands,[19] as found in the synoptic Gospels, here from Matthew:

> And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; For this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.
>
> Matthew 26:26–28, King James Version[20]

and in Paul's rendering of those commands in his First Letter to the Corinthians:

> For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and

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[18] On the problem of names, see John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

[19] See Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy*, p. 1: "The first source for the history of the Mass is obviously the New Testament. In the New Testament we find the root of the whole matter in the account of the Last Supper. It was because our Lord told us to do what he had done, in memory of him, that liturgies exist. So obviously, whatever else may vary, in every rite the first thing is to obey that command, to do *this*, namely what Christ himself had done."

[20] King James Version, accessed 24 July 2012: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kjv/ The texts of Mark 14:22–24 and Luke 22:19–20 differ slightly in the KJV. Luther and Zwingli broke on, among other things, whether the Gospel of John had a bearing on the Eucharist. See John 13 for a narrative of the night before Jesus's Crucifixion. Zwingli's focus was John 6.

The KJV drew upon the earlier translation of William Tyndale as well as the Geneva Bible. Martin Luther translated the Matthew text thus: "Als sie aber aßen, nahm Jesus das Brot, dankte und brach's und gab's den Jüngern und sprach: Nehmet, esset; das ist mein Leib. Und er nahm den Kelch und dankte, gab ihnen den und sprach: Trinket alle daraus; das ist mein Blut des Bundes, das vergossen wird für viele zur Vergebung der Sünden," *Die Bibel*, trans. Martin Luther, accessed 24 July 2012, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/luther/.

> drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.
>
> 1 Corinthians 11:23–29, KJV[21]

As contributions to this volume make clear, the Bible proved "vulnerable" to multiple readings.[22] Different theologians brought different understandings of key words, foremost, "body," to the text; they linked different passages in seeking to understand the Gospel narrative; and different hermeneutics shaped their readings. While, as Nicholas Thompson writes in his contribution to this volume, Martin Bucer (1491–1551) allowed for alternate readings, he was strikingly unusual and, as Thompson notes, his efforts to find common ground have been viewed with suspicion. Bucer was there, in the town of Marburg in 1529, among some dozen Evangelical leaders at the Colloquy Philip, Margrave of Hesse, convened in hopes of uniting Evangelicals. There Luther and Zwingli agreed on fourteen points of doctrine, but divided publicly, bitterly, and irreparably, over the single word "is" in Christ's statement, "for this is my body."[23]

> Car quand la Messe sera bien reformée, elle ne sera plus Messe, mais la Cene de Iesus Christ.
>
> Pierre Viret, *Des Actes des Vrais Successeurs de Iesus Christ*[24]

The meal Jesus shared with his disciples and its relationship to the living present was very much at the center of the debates that, by the end of the century, divided western Christendom into Churches that abide to this day.[25] Sixteenth-century Christians agreed that Christ had commanded those who would be Christian "this do," and that that command founded the sacrament of communion. For medieval Christians and early modern Catholics, the sacrament of communion occurred within the

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[21] King James Version, accessed 24 July 2012: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kjv/.

[22] Thomas M. Greene, *The Vulnerable Text: Essays on Renaissance Literature* (New York, 1986).

[23] On the Marburg Colloquy, see foremost Walther Köhler, *Das Marburger Religionsgespräch 1529. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 148 (Leipzig, 1929). On the debate between Zwingli and Luther, see foremost Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther*.

[24] Pierre Viret, *Des Actes des Vrais Successeurs de Iesus Christ et des ses Apostres . . .* (Geneva, 1554), p. 79: "For when the Mass is truly reformed, it will no longer be the Mass, but the Supper of Jesus Christ."

[25] In this volume, "Church," capitalized, refers to a group of persons, usually with a formal Confession, that distinguished itself, again usually formally, from other groups of Christians in sixteenth-century Europe.

movement of the Mass, following directly upon the Canon. For Evangelicals, "this do" was defined within and by the Gospel narrative. While some such as Luther and Cranmer allowed familiar and ancient practices to abide in their liturgical reforms, what they permitted to abide, they held, was not directly contradicted by the biblical text. The Reformed and Anabaptist traditions returned radically to the Gospel narrative, excising any human action that distracted from it and emphasizing the meal. Evangelicals tended to call the sacrament, "the Lord's Supper," "the Holy Supper," or, simply, "the Supper" (la Cene, das Abendmahl, het Avondmaal).[26] For them, "communion" occurred within the Supper, but they shared no one uniform definition of a sacrament, no one understanding of the relationship between the elements, bread and wine, and the sacrament of communion, no one definition of "communion"—the way in which "this do" connected God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, bread, wine, and humankind.

Sixteenth-century Evangelicals took apart the medieval liturgy—not simply part from part, but words from actions, human celebrant from divine agency. In rejecting the identification, through the office of the priesthood, of the celebrant and Christ, they severed the living celebrant from one way of understanding Christ's "presence" in the Eucharist. In so doing, they laid the conceptual groundwork for the modern notion of ritual.[27] For Evangelicals, the act of worship was both temporally distinct from and, in terms of its participants, essentially divided from the meal Christ shared with his disciples. That meal could be invoked or replicated in its parts—unleavened bread or a simple cup for the wine, a wooden table instead of an altar—but no human actor could stand for or represent Christ, not through any gestures, not through any mimetic acts, not even through words Christ had spoken.

In this volume, individual contributors use the term, "Eucharist," the Anglicized form of the ancient Greek word, to name what no two Churches understood to be the same. So many core words—Eucharist, communion, body, blood, sacrifice, presence, real—cloak in their orthographic regularity incommensurabilities analogous to those between the western and eastern hemispheres in the same century.[28] Unlike its predecessor, this

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[26] Luther began his liturgical reformulations under the rubric of "the German Mass," but he also used the name "Supper" or "Abendmahl." See the contributions of Volker Leppin and Thomas Schattauer to this volume. For other understandings, see the contributions of Carrie Euler, Nicholas Thompson, Nicholas Wolterstorff, John D. Rempel, James Turrell, Raymond Mentzer, and Michele Zelinsky Hanson.

[27] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005 [1997]).

[28] See my *The Eucharist in the Reformation*.

volume can offer no list of terms: sixteenth-century Christians divided bitterly and permanently over meanings, definitions, and the experiences that specific words named.

At one level, those differences can be understood in terms of differing understandings of Incarnation and the many questions it encompasses—the nature of God, of divinity, of Christ, of humanity, of the relationship between divinity and humanity in the person of Christ. Differences in theology, Christology, and anthropology underpin differing conceptualizations of liturgy as well as sacrament. Differences in Christology and anthropology underpin deeply different conceptualizations of "communion" and "presence."

But the differences are not simply conceptual or abstract. For many, the differences are also experiential, the words, rooted in their own lives. "The Mass," for those who receive the sacrament of communion within it, names perhaps the heartbeat at the center of devotional life, perhaps that which binds a person to childhood and family. For them, the word names a living experience. For them, Christ is "present"—a theological term naming the most potent of experiences—through the office of the celebrating priest and according to the doctrine of transubstantiation. For others, "the Supper" is their living experience of Eucharist. For those for whom the Supper is the Eucharist, Christ is "present," and his presence is "real," but those two words name a different experience somatically, cognitively, spiritually. As the Heidelberg Catechism teaches one understanding of that presence:

> It is not only to embrace with a trusting heart the whole passion and death of Christ, and by it to receive the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. In addition, it is to be so united more and more to his blessed body by the Holy Spirit dwelling both in Christ and in us that, although he is in heaven and we are on earth, we are nevertheless flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, always living and being governed by one Spirit, as the members of our bodies are governed by one soul.[29]

For Anabaptists, as John Rempel and Michele Zelinsky Hanson show, the Supper affirms and enacts a "body" of faithful among and within whom Christ and the Holy Spirit are "present." Some scholars from traditions celebrating the Supper speak of "the Mass" still in the very language theologians formative of their tradition took up to repudiate parts of or all of it.

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[29] Question 76, The Heidelberg Catechism, in Mark A. Noll, ed., *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, 1991), p. 151.

For some scholars for whom Christ is "present" in the Mass, on the other hand, all (other) forms of "Supper" are "empty": Christ cannot be present where neither priestly office nor the mystery of transubstantiation occurs. For each Church, Christ's "presence" is "real"—as it is not "real" in another liturgy—experienced, authentic, palpable, sensible, known.

This volume would not be possible without movements towards dialogue in theology, liturgics, and Reformation scholarship. A number of contributors to this volume, as their essays attest, are participating in contemporary dialogues, efforts to find a new language that does not reify or deny the eucharistic experience of others. This volume is a step along that path. But in the moment of its publication, it is new. It brings together scholars from western Christian traditions that acquired definition in the sixteenth century, in an effort not to speak about the sixteenth century in the terms of the old polemics—"human innovation," "tradition"—but to find a language which moves away from the polemical construction of bipolarities and the confessional construction of history.

This volume does not seek to construct a single history at all. It seeks to render something of the protean heterogeneity of early modern thinking—in texts written and sung, images, objects, architecture, music, and practices—on the Eucharist. The contributions to this volume offer an introduction to that thinking, including its many facets and the import of that thinking for persons, things, space, and time. They also offer a number of different approaches: liturgists, James Turrell, Robert J. Daly, and Thomas Schattauer; historians of theology, Gary Macy, Volker Leppin, Nicholas Thompson, and John Rempel; a philosopher and theologian, Nicholas Wolterstorff; a musicologist, Alexander Fisher; historians, Carrie Euler, Isabelle Brian, Raymond Mentzer, Michele Zelinsky Hanson, and Andrew Spicer; art historians, Andreas Gormans, Birgit Ulrike Münch, and Achim Timmermann; a scholar of English poetry, Regina Schwartz; a scholar of German aesthetics, Christopher Wild; and Jaime Lara, who combines training in anthropology, theology, liturgy, and art history in his work on Christianity in the Spanish New World.

The volume encompasses neither all the sixteenth-century voices who spoke of the Eucharist[30] nor all the methods that one might bring to

[30] In the 1520s, individual towns, led by their local preachers, instituted a range of eucharistic practices, enacting a range of eucharistic theologies. See, for example, Thomas Kaufmann, *Die Abendmahlstheologie der Straßburger Reformatoren bis 1528* (Tübingen, 1992).

consider the Eucharist in the sixteenth century.[31] In the Bibliography, readers will find works not only on the theologians, practices, visual cultures, and places that the contributions address, but also on other thinkers, images, practices, and places.

The nature of the Reformation's legacy and its import are much contested, but one need not agree with Max Weber—or his controversial twinned conceptualizations of secularization and modernity—to acknowledge deep and abiding change.[32] The modern study of the Eucharist mirrors the Evangelicals' dismantling of the medieval Mass. That dismantling is in turn reflected in the organization of this volume: theology, Part I; liturgical practices, Part II; spaces of the Eucharist, Part III; images, Part IV; music, Part V; and literary theory, Part VI. As so many of the contributions reveal, those separations did not operate in the sixteenth century. Turrell's two essays make explicit the interreferentiality of theology and liturgy for so many early modern Christians. As Isabelle Brian shows in her contribution, early modern Catholics drew upon objects and images, as well as enactments in their explication of the mystery of the Eucharist. As Jaime Lara reveals, the same words had different resonances in another hemisphere. Achim Timmermann, Birgit Ulrike Münch, and Andreas Gorman show some of the ways images participated actively in eucharistic thinking. And Alexander Fisher conveys something of the Eucharist's sound and the ways that sound at once was integral to the liturgy and brought eucharistic resonances to spaces that were public and not consecrated to the liturgy. The last section is unlike the others: it looks past the Reformation to two ways fragmentation engendered new modes of thought, fertile new thinking about language itself, and the relationship of sign and signifier. Sixteenth-century debates, let me suggest, reach into our world in ways we are just beginning to understand.

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[31] For methodologically different approaches to the Eucharist, see, for example, Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: the Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999) for an analysis of its political symbolism; or Christian Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène: le culte eucharistique réformé à Genève (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Geneva, 2008), for an anthropological analysis.

[32] Max Weber, "Die protestantische Ethik und der 'Geist' des Kapitalismus," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, vol. 1, ed. Max Weber (Tübingen: Mohr, 1920), 17–206.

PART ONE

THEOLOGY

THE MEDIEVAL INHERITANCE[1]

Gary Macy

The Eucharist to which the reformers were objecting was a medieval creation, as many of them well knew.[2] Late medieval eucharistic practice and theology were forged during the great changes of the eleventh century reform and then gradually refined during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This form of celebrating the Eucharist differed considerably from the Eucharist that the reformers found in the pages of the new critical editions of the New Testament and of the early church writers that were appearing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They hoped to restore an original simplicity to what they felt was an extravagant pantomime of priestly power.

The entire story of the changes that revolutionized the Eucharist during this period would require a book to tell, and indeed, several have been written to do so. This essay will attempt merely to trace the outline of those changes that most provoked the reformers. Hopefully, this framing will set the stage for the several sixteenth-century reforms in the celebration of the Christian ritual meal in the West.

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[1] This chapter is based on early discussions of the Eucharist in the Middle Ages in Gary Macy, "L'Eucharistie en occident de 1000 à 1300," in *Eucharistia: encyclopédie de l'eucharistie*, ed. Maurice Brouard (Paris, 2002), pp. 175–193; idem, "The 'Invention' of Clergy and Laity in the Twelfth Century," in *A Sacramental Life: A Festschrift Honoring Bernard Cooke*, ed. Michael Horace Barnes and William P. Roberts (Milwaukee, 2003), pp. 117–135; and idem, "Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall (Leiden, 2011), pp. 365–398, hereafter *A Companion*.

[2] The first of the reformers of whom I am aware to identify Lateran IV as the origin of a misunderstanding of the Eucharist was John Cosin, later bishop of Durham, in his *Historia transubstantiationis papalis* (London, 1675). Cosin wrote the work in 1656, but it was not published until after his death in 1672. See Gary Macy, "The 'Dogma of Transubstantiation' in the Middle Ages," in *Treasures from the Storeroom* (Collegeville, MN, 1999), pp. 81–120; originally published in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994): 11–41.

Real Presence in Practice

The forms of eucharistic theology and practice that the sixteenth century sought to undo were forged in the eleventh century with the sweeping reforms of ecclesiastical structures generally known as the Gregorian Reform Movement, due to its most famous advocate, Pope Gregory VII. Most important for the Eucharist, the Gregorian Reform Movement insisted that only a properly ordained priest could confect the sacrament and, further, that ordination itself was limited to the three clerical orders of sub-deacon, deacon and priest. This gradual separation of the clerical from the secular realms more and more defined the priest in terms of his ability to make the risen Lord present in the Eucharist. These changes created a hierarchy that thoroughly separated the clergy from the laity and granted clergy alone access and control of the rituals felt to be necessary for salvation. This was particularly true in the case of the Eucharist.

The first important change that created this system was a redefinition of what it meant to be ordained to service in the community. Describing this transformation, Yves Congar explained:

> Instead of signifying, as happened from the beginning of the twelfth century, the ceremony in which an individual received a power henceforth possessed in such a way that it could never be lost, the words *ordinare, ordinari, ordinatio* [before the twelfth century] signified the fact of being designated and consecrated to take up a certain place or better a certain function, *ordo*, in the community and at its service.[3]

"*Ordinatio*" before the twelfth century was understood much more broadly. Any selection to and installation into a new service within the Christian community would be designated an ordination. Thus ordination originally could and did describe the consecration of kings and queens, popes, bishops, priests, deacons, deaconesses, abbots, and abbesses. One was selected by and appointed for service to a particular community, and movement to service in another community was severely condemned (although it certainly happened). In this earlier understanding of ordination a person did not receive a personal power transferable to any community; a person was chosen and consecrated to perform a particular function within one's own community. Any such selection and consecration was termed an "ordination."

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[3] Yves Congar, "My Path-Findings in the Theology of Laity and Ministries," *The Jurist* 32 (1972): 180.

Starting with the Council of Benevento in 1091, canonists and theologians began to insist that holy orders consisted only of those *ordines* that served at the altar, that is, the deaconate and the presbyterate. The first appearance of this teaching in theological literature occurred in a *sententia* attached to the School at Laon: "The presbyterate and deaconate only are called sacred orders, because the Spirit is given only in them and therefore under no necessity ought they be received by inferiors, but others are possible, as the apostle can be read."[4] This opinion was repeated by several canonists as well as the important master, Hugh of St. Victor, who taught in Paris from ca. 1120 until his death in 1141.[5] Peter Lombard in his influential *Sentences*, written ca. 1155–1158, offered a theological definition of this new understanding of *ordo*. Peter's definition directly linked order with power:

> If, however, one asks: what is that which is here called order (*ordo*), it can indeed be said to be a certain sign, that is, something sacred, by which a spiritual power and office is given to the one ordained.[6]

This theology received its full articulation in the commentary of Alexander of Hales on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, written between 1220 and 1227.[7] For Alexander, ordination was defined as "a sacrament of ritual power for some office established in the church for the sacrament of communion."[8] Ordination became, in effect, a ritual that granted a male (and only a male) an irreversible right to preside over the Eucharist. This redefinition of ordination helped create a separate clerical caste that alone had the extraordinary power to change ordinary bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ himself.

This change in the definition of ordination came about slowly, however. Theologians in the twelfth century still debated whether or not an ordained minister was necessary to perform the miracle that made Christ present in the sacrament. Abelard (1079–1142) described William and Thierry of Chartres as teaching in the middle of the twelfth century that

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[4] *Sententia* n. 390, "L'École d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux," in Odo Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Gembloux, 1959), p. 283.

[5] Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New York, 2008), p. 96.

[6] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae* 4.24.13, ed. Ignatius Brady, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Grottaferrata, 1971–1981), 2: 405.

[7] Macy, *Hidden History*, pp. 90–93, 105–109.

[8] Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in quatuor libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi* 4.24, Biblioteca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi 15 (Florence, 1951–1957), p. 401.

the words of consecration confect the sacrament no matter who pronounced the words, even if that should be a woman (*etiam mulier*).[9] A similar position was taken at the same time by the Parisian theologian John Beleth (fl. 1135–1182), who held that the words of institution effected the change even if pronounced by accident and by the laity.[10]

By the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, however, all theologians accepted and defended the new understanding of ordination as limited to service at the altar centering on the permanent power to make Christ present in the Eucharist. This power was dependent not on the moral life of the minister, but on his (and again only males were considered capable of ordination) canonically valid ordination. The first official document specifically linking ritual ordination with consecration occurred in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215: "And certainly no one is able to confect the sacrament except priests who have been ritually ordained according to the keys of the Church which Jesus Christ himself entrusted to the apostles and their successors."[11] Priests needed not only to be validly ordained, however. They also needed to intend to effect what the church intended in this ritual, that is to make present the body and blood of Christ. They could not transubstantiate by accident, nor could the word of institution alone accomplish the miracle. Richard of Middleton (ca. 1249–ca. 1302) went so far as to discuss whether or not a priest could intend to consecrate one of two hosts on the altar, or even just part of a single host.[12]

The official position quickly became so firmly entrenched that it was understood to have been the perpetual understanding of the Church. This enhancement of the power of the priesthood could not help but also enhance the power of the Eucharist itself. This period also saw a dramatic insistence on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist in a mutually reinforcing dynamic. Christ was personally and truly present in every Mass,

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[9] Abelard, *Theologia christiana* 1.4, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis 12 (Turnhout, 1969), p. 302.

[10] John Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 98, ed. Herbert Douteil, Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis 41A (Turnhout, 1976), p. 78.

[11] Canon 1, Antonio García y García, ed., *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum* (Vatican City, 1981), p. 42. For a fuller discussion of this decree and its implications, see Ian Christopher Levy, "The Eucharist and Canon Law in the Middle Ages," in *A Companion*, pp. 426–428.

[12] Richard of Middleton, *Commentaria super quatuor libros sententiarum, 4.10.2, Magistri Ricardi de Mediavilla Super Quatuor Libros Sententiarum* (1591; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1963), pp. 128–129.

and only the priest could make this presence possible. The Eucharist became a moment of divine presence and clerical power.

Along with a theology that defined the power of the priest as centralized in his ability to make the risen Christ present on the altar came devotions and practices that celebrated that miraculous presence. In the early years of the thirteenth century, the custom was introduced of elevating the host after the consecration of the bread and of elevating the chalice after the consecration of the wine. An elevation had always been part of the liturgy during the Offertory when the gifts were raised in a sign of thanksgiving to God. This second more dramatic elevation, however, performed a far different purpose. The gesture announced to the congregation that the miracle had occurred and that now the body and blood of the risen Lord was present on the altar.[13]

The elevation quickly became a major focus for popular devotions, and gazing on the elevated host in prayer was understood to be a form of spiritual reception. According to the early thirteenth-century theologian William of Auxerre, in his commentary on the Mass, "The priest elevates the body of Christ so that all the faithful might see and seek what is profitable for salvation."[14] The custom grew up of ringing the church bells during the elevation to alert people of the presence so they could make their petitions. By the end of the thirteenth century, the liturgy clearly focused on the moment of consecration as the central action in the Mass and the elevation became the devotional highlight of the ceremony for most laity.[15]

A further sign of the reverence for the real presence was the appearance of sanctuary lamps in some churches. Perpetual lamps were introduced in the twelfth century to burn before the reserved species. Also at this time

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[13] Gary Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 88–89. For a more recent description of the role of the elevation in the Eucharist, see Kristen Van Ausdall, "Art and Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages," in *A Companion*, pp. 547–551, and Miri Rubin, "Popular Attitudes to the Eucharist," ibid., pp. 453–454.

[14] Cited in Édouard Dumoutet, *Le Désire de voir l'hostie et les origins de la devotion au saint-sacrement* (Paris, 1942), p. 49, n.3. On the elevation, see Peter Browe, "Die Elevation der Hostie," *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge* 8 (1931): 20–66, reprinted Peter Browe, *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter: Liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht* (Münster, 2003), and idem, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Rome, 1967), pp. 26–69.

[15] See Peter Browe, "Die Elevation der Hostie," in *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, esp. pp. 487–489.

the extra-liturgical practice arose of prayer before the reserved species, a practice that would become more popular in the thirteenth century.[16]

The devotion developed a new focus when c. 1209, St. Julianna of Liège received a vision urging the Church to adopt a special feast in honor of Christ present in the consecrated bread and wine. Jacques Pantaleon, the Archdeacon of Liège, secured the new feast for his own diocese in 1246. When Jacques became Pope Urban IV, he extended the feast to the entire Church in 1264. This Feast of Corpus Christi was not widely embraced until the fourteenth century, but its promulgation in the thirteenth century demonstrates how devotion to the real presence was quite rapidly shifting the focus of the liturgy towards viewing rather than receiving the consecrated bread and wine.[17]

During the eleventh century, reception of the Eucharist varied from region to region, but in general was limited to the three feasts of Easter, Christmas, and Pentecost. In a statute that shaped sacramental practice for the rest of the Middle Ages, the Fourth Lateran Council required all Christians reaching the age of discretion to confess privately once a year to their own priest and to receive the Eucharist at least at Easter (canon 21). Common practice came to limit sacramental communion to this "Easter Duty." Sacramental communion commonly took place only after a period of preparation in Lent followed by an annual confession of sins. This pairing of confession and communion at Easter was soon seen as a sign of membership in good standing in the Church.[18] Great social pressure was brought to bear on the individual to receive on the high feast days. Not to receive was a public admission of serious sin and public refusal of communion could easily arouse suspicion, even of heresy. Theologians argued that a priest must give communion to those who seek it, even if the priest knew the recipient to be in secret deadly sin, since to deny the sacrament was to proclaim publicly a person's guilt.[19]

Easter confession and communion also became the customary time when parishioners paid their annual tithes in support of their local clergy. With the advent of friars in the thirteenth century, it became possible to confess and receive sacramental communion from these charismatic

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[16] Browe, *Die Verehrung*, pp. 1–11; and Archibald King, *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church* (New York, 1965), pp. 129–131.

[17] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

[18] The classic study remains Peter Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1940).

[19] On canonical opinion on this issue, see Ian Christopher Levy, "The Eucharist and Canon Law," in *A Companion*, pp. 439–440.

wandering preachers rather than from the local parish priest. Since the livelihood of the secular clergy largely depended on parochial support, considerable friction developed between the secular clergy and the friars. Starting with the Fourth Lateran Council, canon law emphasized the necessity of confessing to one's own parish priest and of communicating in one's own parish. By the end of the thirteenth century, special permission was needed to fulfill the Easter Duty outside one's own parish.[20]

Formal exclusion from the sacraments of the Church, especially sacramental communion, constituted the heart of the practice of excommunication. Since theologians were fairly unanimous in understanding the purpose of communion as union with the Church, excommunication was readily understood as exclusion from the symbol of that union. This was all the more true as theologians commonly defined the Church as the community of all those who live a life of faith and active charity. Excommunication during this period came gradually to carry more severe legal and social consequences and hence became more a political rather than a spiritual issue. By the end of the thirteenth century, the original understanding of excommunication as exclusion from sacramental communion was largely lost.[21] Popular religion, however, continued to stress the danger of approaching sacramental communion without at least attempting to live the life of faith and active love which membership in the true Church demanded.[22]

At the beginning of eleventh century, eucharistic liturgies encompassed considerable diversity. According to D.M. Hope,

> Sacramentaries, by the tenth and eleventh centuries, had begun to multiply in number, so that by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries almost every church, certainly every monastery, had its own sacramentary or set of sacramentaries; very rarely did one copy match another exactly.[23]

Some standardization of the liturgy occurred in the eleventh and twelfth century under the leadership of the great monastic centers of Cluny and Cîteaux. The friars, however, more than any other group, helped to standardize liturgy in the Middle Ages. Since they were itinerant preachers,

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[20] Browe, *Pflichtkommunion*, pp. 47–70.

[21] Elizabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986).

[22] Gary Macy, "Commentaries on the Mass in the Early Scholastic Period," in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller (New York and London, 1997), pp. 25–59.

[23] D.M. Hope, "Liturgical Books," in *The Study of Liturgy*, rev. ed., ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, et al. (New York, 1992), p. 96.

they needed a standardized liturgy as well as a means of carrying conveniently the necessary liturgical texts on their travels. The solution to their problem was a standardized "missal," that is, a single volume carrying the necessary liturgical texts. The Dominican General Humbert of Romans established a standard liturgy for his order in the mid-thirteenth century. The Franciscans, meanwhile, adopted a simplified version of the Roman liturgy as it developed under Pope Innocent III. The friars carried their missals to all parts of the world, and missals quickly supplanted sacramentaries as the predominant type of Mass book used in Western Christianity.[24]

Finally, these centuries saw a considerable change in the churches where eucharistic liturgies were held. There was astounding growth in the sheer numbers of churches. In France alone, it is estimated that between 1050 and 1350, 80 cathedrals, 500 large churches and 10,000 parish church were built. The new churches differed from the past not only in quantity, but also in quality. A new style of church building used the arch to open up the walls of the churches to allow maximum light through windows covered in stained glass. The effect was that of walls reaching to the heavens, scattering colored light on the brightly painted walls of the interior. The new style was introduced in the monastic church of St. Denis outside Paris but soon spread, developing stylistic changes as new churches were built throughout Europe.[25]

By the end of the thirteenth century, western Europe witnessed a more standardized eucharistic liturgy which was performed in spectacular new spaces by a priesthood set apart from the laity by their divine powers and focussed on the consecration. The focus on the power of the priest to make present the body and blood of the risen Christ, and the focus on that power in the liturgy and in the new liturgical spaces became a central target for the reformers. All Evangelical reformers denied the power of the priest to make the risen Christ present, and refocused the liturgy on the reading and reception of the word of God. It was a dramatic rejection of the Christianity created by the eleventh-century reforms.

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[24] D.M. Hope, "The Medieval Western Rites," in *The Study of Liturgy*, pp. 264–285.

[25] For a recent introduction to the cathedrals, see F. Donald Logan, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 2002). On the number of churches in France, see Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (London, 1992), pp. 190–191.

Real Presence in Theory[26]

The first true intellectual struggle over the understanding of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist occurred at the same time as the Gregorian reforms. Starting in the mid-eleventh century, the *scholasticus* of St. Martin in Tours, Berengar (ca. 1000–1088), raised serious objections to the then dominant eucharistic theology of the ninth-century theologian, Paschasius (ca. 790–860). Berengar's position was straightforward. The body and blood present in the sacrament cannot be the same as the historical body of Jesus. The historical body of Jesus must take up space and be seen, felt and tasted as a human body. This body can only exist in heaven. The presence on the altar is the spiritual body of Christ. Furthermore, the bread and the wine must continue to exist as bread and wine since they are symbols that point to the spiritual presence of Christ. As Berengar explained:

> As attested by all of the Scriptures, the bread and wine are converted by consecration into the flesh and blood of Christ, and it is agreed that everything that is consecrated, and everything blessed by God, is not diminished, not taken away, not destroyed, but remains and is of necessity exalted into something better than it was.[27]

If the bread and the wine were not present, then there would be no symbols to indicate that presence. Berengar also sarcastically replied to his opponents that if it was the historical body of Jesus that was consumed in the Eucharist then sinners, non-believers, and even animals could literally eat and even digest and excrete Jesus' body.

Several monastic theologians, most notably John (d. 1078) and Durand of Fécamp (ca. 1010–1088), Alberic of Monte Cassino (d. 1088) and Lanfranc of Bec (ca. 1010–1089), responded by accusing Berengar of denying the reality of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and thus undermining the efficacy of the ritual. Hugh of Langres (d. 1050), for example, insisted that bread and wine must be changed for the Eucharist to be salvific,

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[26] This summary of eucharistic theology is dependent upon Macy, "Eucharistic Theology," in *A Companion*.

[27] Berengar of Tours, *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*, 2.3015–20, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis 84 (Turnhout, 1988), p. 183. See Charles Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours* (New York, 2003), p. 11.

> If in their nature and essence, they (the bread and wine) do not have the power of salvation, they have the contrary of it, and thus, as long as they remain in their nature, (the Eucharist) will be a powerless sign.[28]

The controversy continued for more than twenty years and involved several of the most famous of the Gregorian reformers. Pope Leo IX (1048–11054) condemned Berengar's teaching at the Council of Rome in 1050. In 1054 Berengar signed a creed written by the papal legate Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII. In 1059, Berengar signed a second statement of belief written by the influential reform cardinal, Humbert of Silva-Candida (d. 1061). This oath took a particularly materialistic stance, asserting that the presence is "the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that sensually, not only in sign, but in truth (*non solum sacramento, sed in veritate*) they are handled and broken by the hands of the priest and crushed by the teeth of the faithful."[29] Finally, in 1079 Gregory VII forced Berengar to sign a much milder oath of orthodoxy which merely insisted that "the bread and wine which are placed on the altar . . . are changed substantially into the true and proper vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ . . . which was born of the virgin . . ."[30] The oath famously introduced the more sophisticated philosophical term, "substantially," to describe the mode of presence of Christ's body and blood on the altar.

The Berengarian affair left few ripples outside academic circles, but the exchange between Berengar and his opponents started one of the first serious academic debates of the high Middle Ages. The Berengarian debate also established a framework for later medieval language about the Eucharist. All orthodox theologians henceforth identified the body of Christ present in the sacrament with Christ's body born of Mary and now present in heaven, and held that identification as a necessary corollary of a belief in the real presence. The issues arising from this teaching dominated theological thought in the later Middle Ages in a way that few other issues did.

The presence of the historical body and blood of Jesus raised several difficult questions, as Berengar had already pointed out. How could a body

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[28] Hugh of Langres, *De corpore et sanguine Christi contra Berengarium, Patrologiae cursus completes . . . Series Latina*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, 217 vols. plus indices (Paris, 1844–1865), 142: 1327, hereafter *PL*.

[29] *Distinctio* 2, *de cons.* c. 42, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols. (1879; repr. Graz, 1960), 1: 1328–1329.

[30] Gregory VII, *Registrum*, in *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920–1923), 2: 426–427.

be present in such a way that it was not sensed to be present? How could a body be present in more than one place? How could the body of Christ be broken by the priest in the Mass, and received into the mouths of the faithful as the oath of 1059 so crassly stated? What happened if an animal or heretic or infidel consumed the consecrated bread and wine? Finally, how could Christ remain intact if his body and blood were separated in the consecrated bread and wine? These problems, again, were not just theoretical. Cathars were reported to have raised several of these issues to justify their rejection of any presence of Christ in the sacrament.[31]

Gradually a more precise vocabulary emerged to describe the presence of Christ on the altar. Hugh of St. Victor, in his *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, explained that it was the substance of the bread and the wine that changed into the substance of the body and the blood of Christ. The species of the bread and the wine remain, however, and if anything unworthy seems to happen, it happens only to the species, not to the substance of the body and the blood.[32] In the mid-twelfth century in a work most likely written by the English theologian Robert Pullen, the word "transubstantiation" first appeared to describe the process by which the substance of Christ comes to replace that of the substances of the bread and the wine.[33]

Peter Lombard declined to state what kind of change took place in the Eucharist, but tended to agree that this was a change in substance.[34] The accidents of the bread and the wine meanwhile remain miraculously unsupported by any substance. They can no longer adhere in the now absent substance of the bread and the wine, nor could they adhere in the substance of the body and the blood since they have very different sensed characteristics.[35] Any changes in the bread or wine take place in the remaining accidents or form of the bread and the wine, but do not affect the substance of the body and the blood.[36]

Peter summarized the fairly sophisticated use of Aristotelian categories of his time. By insisting that the substance of the bread and the wine

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[31] Gary Macy, "Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch," in Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom*, pp. 59–80, originally published in *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 2, ed. Peter Ganz, R.B.C. Huygens, and Friedrich Niewöhner (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 47–67.

[32] Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* 8.9–11, *PL* 176: 468A–471C.

[33] Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 46 (1991): 147–170.

[34] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.11.1, 4: 296.

[35] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.12.1, 4: 304.

[36] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.12.3, 4: 306–307.

changed into the substance of the body and the blood of Christ, several problems were avoided. Substance, separated from its accidents, was not sensed or located in a particular place, since both the sensation and location of a substance were in fact accidents. The substance of Christ's body and blood could be in heaven with their own accidents and present on all the altars of the world without their accidents. Any change that seemed to take place to the bread and wine, including desecration or digestion, really happened to the accidents of the bread and the wine that miraculously existed without any substance at all.

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council famously used the word transubstantiation in its opening creed to describe the means by which the real presence occurred in the Mass. This use, however, was not intended as a formal definition, nor understood to be, by the majority of thirteenth-century theologians. There was, in fact, still no common understanding of the category of substance, much less agreement on either the use of the term transubstantiation or what the word might have meant when used. Theologians at the time fell roughly into three camps in regard to the eucharistic change. Some believed that the bread and the wine remained present along with the body and the blood of Christ (coexistence). Others felt that the substance of the bread and the wine were annihilated and replaced with the substance of the body and the blood (substitution). Finally a third group argued that the substance of the bread and the wine was changed into the substance of the body and the blood at the words of consecration (transmutation).[37]

By the end of the thirteenth century, coexistence found few advocates, although some theologians, most famously John of Paris, still saw merit in this explanation even if they themselves rejected it. The second theory, substitution, found many advocates, including Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), William of Auvergne, Roland of Cremona (writing ca. 1228–ca. 1232), the *glossa ordinaria* on the *Decretum*, and Duns Scotus (ca. 1266–1308), to name only the most important.[38] The third alternative, transmutation, found the most widespread support, Albert the Great (ca. 1200–1280) and Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274) being the strongest advocates.

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[37] Macy, "The Dogma of Transubstantiation," pp. 11–41.

[38] Hans Jorissen, *Die Entfaltung der Transsubstantiationslehre bis zum Beginn der Hochscholastik* (Münster, 1965), p. 55.

As theologians developed more sophisticated appropriations of Aristotle's philosophy, they attempted to situate the eucharistic change within that philosophy. Theologians in the early thirteenth century enumerated and compared the different kinds of change suggested by Aristotle and compared those to the substantial change that took place in the Eucharist. All agreed that the change that took place on the altar was different from any change in nature and resulted from a miracle.[39]

Alexander of Hales, writing between 1220 and 1236, was the first to suggest that one of the accidents of the bread and the wine, namely quantity, miraculously continued to exist independently of matter after the consecration and itself took on the role of a subject in which the other accidents adhered. This is possible, he argued, because the other accidents already adhere in quantity which itself inheres in a subject. God, then, can make the potentially independent existence of quantity actually exist as a subject in which the other accidents adhere. The Dominican Richard Fishacre, who taught at Oxford ca. 1240–1248, refined and developed Alexander's theology. Richard rejected the substitution theory as defended by Roland of Cremona, since quantity as a mathematical entity could more naturally take on the role of a subject for the other accidents. The Franciscan master, William of Militona, who taught in Paris from 1245 to 1253, and Albert the Great, the famous Dominican, teaching on the Eucharist in Paris ca. 1240–1248, in turn advanced and developed Richard's teaching.[40]

Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican theologian whose work would become the standard of orthodoxy for Roman Catholicism after the Reformation, therefore inherited an already constructed metaphysics of the Eucharist. Like his predecessors, Thomas argued that at the time of the change, a miracle took place allowing quantity to support the other accidents of bread and wine as a substance normally would. Quantity was able to do this since it had the potential for such an existence, and since the other accidents already adhered in quantity. The many questions surrounding the existence of the body and the blood of Christ had not been resolved, but at least on this issue, Thomas's theology represents a

[39] Paul J.J.M. Bakker, "La Raison et le Miracle: Les doctrines eucharistiques (c. 1225–c. 1400)" (PhD thesis, University of Nijmegen, 1966), pp. 155–170.

[40] On the teaching of Alexander and his successors, see Bakker, *La Raison et le Miracle*, pp. 294–302.

summary of the vexed question of how the body and the blood of Christ could be present without being sensed.[41]

Even at the time, the explanation of transubstantiation summarized by Thomas did not go uncontested. An extensive debate ensued involving both the larger question of the use of Aristotle to explain Christian mysteries and the narrower question of whether or not Aristotle's philosophy could be used as had been suggested. While Peter Olivi (ca. 1248–1298), the Franciscan theologian, bemoaned the introduction of "the pagan Aristotle" into theological discussions,[42] Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1277, took a more extreme position when he found Thomas's view on transubstantiation to be contrary to faith.[43] A less critical result was a vigorous debate regarding the role of quantity in metaphysics and hence its role in sustaining the accidents of the bread and the wine in the Eucharist.

By the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century the explanation of how it was possible for the historical body and blood of Christ to be present on the altar had become extremely complex. Ordinary Christians could hardly be expected to understand the complicated arguments supporting the different theories that comprised transubstantiation, and the Church did not demand such sophistication of them. For the ordinary layperson, it was enough to believe that somehow Christ was really present in the consecrated bread and wine, that is, to believe in real presence. Contrary to what is still popularly believed, transubstantiation was not an article of the faith. Theologians could and did get into trouble for their theories of transubstantiation if university or episcopal authorities perceived some heresy in that teaching, especially if they were thought to have implied a denial of the real presence. For the ordinary Christian, however, transubstantiation must have been something like quantum physics for non-scientists today: an amazing thing we trust a scientist can explain. To continue the comparison, miracle host stories perhaps played the same role as science fiction movies. They both demonstrated how something powerful and even dangerous is going on, but the actual explanation of it was best left to the experts.

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[41] For a recent discussion of Thomas's position, see Bakker, *La Raison et le Miracle*, pp. 294–302

[42] David Burr, *The Persecution of Peter Olivi* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 31.

[43] On the condemnations of Thomas's theology, see James Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Works* (Washington, DC, 1983), pp. 335–338.

The experts, however, did not abandon their attempts to explain the presence of the body and the blood of Christ in the Eucharist. As Stephen Lahey has so aptly put it:

> The question of presence has come to dominate accounts of Eucharistic theology, not least because the received position, transubstantiation, appears to demand the metaphysically impossible. Christ is present as the underlying substance, having taken the place of the substance of the bread and wine, while maintaining the accidents, or properties, of the elements.[44]

Basically three questions confronted the late medieval theologians: (1) How is Christ present? (2) How could the change necessary to make Christ present take place? (3) How can the accidents (the appearances) remain unchanged if it is truly Christ who is present? Of course, all theologians realized that this was a miraculous presence, but having said that, what miracles were involved and why were miracles necessary? As J.M.M. Bakker, the foremost contemporary scholar of late medieval eucharistic theology, puts it, "The paradoxical result is a rational analysis and a reasoned hierarchy of varying miracles."[45]

The discussions became more complex, involving the relationship of sign to signified, matter to form, space to time and, finally, sense data to knowledge itself. If God could make Christ present in what appears to be bread and wine, could God not make it so nothing was what it appeared to be and, more strikingly, how would we know if God had done so? Robert Holcot, who taught at the University of Oxford from 1330 to 1343, threw up his hands in despair of any knowledge in a way that anticipates some modern philosophers:

> It must be said that God is able to do more than the intellect can understand and therefore it is not inappropriate to agree that God could change the entire world and to make it exist under the species of a single mouse . . . Concerning the certitude of experience, I believe that there is no certitude about an individual created thing as it presently exists, since it is able to become false through (this sort of) change, and it would be hidden from me whether it were true or false.[46]

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[44] Stephen Lahey, "Late Medieval Eucharistic Theology," in *A Companion*, p. 500.

[45] Bakker, *La Raison et le Miracle*, p. 16.

[46] Robert Holcot, *Questiones super sententias libri quarti* (Lyons, 1518), unpaginated, translated by author.

John Wyclif, a university professor at Oxford from 1372 and 1384, entered into this tangled controversy concerning how exactly the risen Christ could be present in the Eucharist. Although his positions were similar to other professors of his time, his philosophical principles led him to deny transubstantiation. Transubstantiation was not only philosophically impossible but also theologically unnecessary. To quote Lahey once again:

> In a vernacular text likely to have been written by Wyclif, he argues that, just as when one looks at a statue does not wonder whether it is carved from ash or oak, but instead concentrates on what the carving represents, so one contemplating the Eucharist ought think of Christ, and not of bread or wine, let alone substance and accidents.[47]

Wyclif's teaching drew the attention of Church officials, and in 1382, his teaching on the Eucharist was condemned. Wyclif himself, however, was never excommunicated and died in good standing with the church. Wyclif's teachings continued to spread on a more popular level both in England and in Bohemia and led to the exhumation and burning of his body in 1425. That story, however, is part of the later story of the origins of the Reformation and better told by others.

The important point for our purposes is that Wyclif's rejection of transubstantiation emerged from his philosophical position on substance, accidents, and the possibilities of their relationships, a discussion that first emerged in the Berengarian debates and gradually became more and more complex and obscure. Sixteenth-century reformers reacted, in part, to just such theological complexity as exemplified in the theology of the Eucharist. For sixteenth-century critics, the whole enterprise was so complicated and required such specialized knowledge that the worshiping community's simple experience of the risen Christ was somehow forgotten in a labyrinth of philosophical niceties that only served, in the eyes of some, to uphold the power of the priest. They could find nothing like this in Scripture or in the work of the early church writers.

The Real Presence in Popular Understanding

The end result of an insistence on the power of the priest to make the risen Christ present on the altar was both a growing complexity in eucha-

[47] Lahey, "Late Medieval Eucharistic Theology," in *A Companion*, p. 535, quoting Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford, 1988), p. 282.

ristic theology and a passionate popular devotion to the presence of the risen Christ produced by the priest. The most dramatic of those devotions, the Feast of Corpus Christi, has already been mentioned. Apart from this yearly celebration, there was also the daily ritual of the liturgy itself. The elevation of the host after the moment of consecration became the central focus of a spectacle enhanced by the ringing of the church bells and sometimes by an elaborate artistic backdrop to allow participants to focus on the presence.

Although the Latin of the liturgy was often incomprehensible to the laity, they were certain that the risen Christ came down to earth at the moment the priest uttered the words of institution. These were magical and powerful words, and "*Hoc est corpus meum*" became transmogrified into the magic chant, "hocus pocus." The complicated metaphysics involved in formal theological explanations of the real presence were simplified into magic and miracle in the popular imagination. Beginning in the twelfth century, stories proliferated about miracles performed by or in behalf of consecrated hosts. The sudden eruption of these stories appears to have been closely connected with the emphasis on the power of the priest to make the risen Christ really present on the local altar of each parish church.[48] According to Jessalyn Bird,

> Cistercians and moralists [the theologians from the circle of Peter the Chanter] . . . related stories of the miraculous apparition of a child or raw flesh in the eucharist and the power of the consecrated host to heal, console and sustain in contrast to the unconsecrated wafer, many drawn from the experiences of the *mulieres sanctae* of Flanders-Brabant, to rebuke the corruption or faithlessness of the celebrating priest or lay audience, to strengthen the faith of those doubting the true presence and to testify to the rewards granted those celebrating or receiving the eucharist with faith and devotion.[49]

Theologians in the second half of the twelfth century relished these stories and used them as proof of the real presence. In fact, most of the stories that we have from this period were preserved in the lectures of the Parisian masters. The stories are not just traditional tales handed down from the golden age of the past, but are presented as firsthand accounts of recent events. The Parisian master Robert of Courcon,

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[48] Macy, "Theology of the Eucharist," in *A Companion*, pp. 394–396.

[49] Jessalyn Bird, "The Construction of Orthodoxy and the (De)construction of Heretical Attacks on the Eucharist in Pastoralia from Peter the Chanter's Circle in Paris," in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. C. Bruschi and P. Biller (York, 2003), p. 54.

writing c. 1208–1212/3, relates a story of Bernard of Clairvaux. The holy man, realizing that one of the novices had confessed insincerely, urged the man not to receive the host. When the novice insisted, the abbot cried out, "May the Lord judge between you and me." Immediately the host tore out through the throat of the poor novice.[50] A more nearly contemporary story related by Robert concerned a certain woman who, while keeping the host in her mouth, kissed a man so he would fall in love with her. The host turned to flesh in the man's mouth almost choking him. Pope Alexander III, according to Robert, dealt with this case by decretal letter.[51] Robert also related the story of his contemporary, Bishop Maurice de Sully of Paris (d. 1196) to whom, near death, was given an unconsecrated host by a holy canon of St. Victor's in place of the Eucharist. The Bishop immediately recognized that the host was unconsecrated and asked for the true Eucharist. When the canon offered the sacrament, the Bishop, no longer able to receive it, simply prayed for Christ to intervene in heaven on his behalf.[52]

In such stories, the theological subtleties of substance and accidents were completely lost on the faithful who would have been more interested in whether or not the host actually worked as a love potion. They did not doubt that the miraculous flesh and blood that appeared in the miracles were indeed that of Jesus himself. Perhaps for that reason, theologians, starting in the beginning of the thirteenth century, dropped all references to eucharistic miracle stories in their lectures. By the mid-thirteenth

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[50] "De pena indigne accedentis mirabilis accidit quidam casus. Apud Clarevallem de quodam converso qui dum nollet crimen suum plene confiteri abbati suo beato Bernardo; intellexit vir sanctus eum semiplena confessione ad eucharistiam percipiendam accedere et quia ad ammonitionem eius noluit desistere sed instantius semper petebat coram aliis corpus Christi offerens ei eucharistiam ait, 'Iudicet dominus inter me et te,' et statim ruptum est guttur eius et libere exiuit corpus Christi," Robert of Courcon, *Summa*, Brugges MS 247, fol. 143r1–r2.

[51] "Simile accidit cuidam mulieri retenta eucharisti in os suum, osculata est virum ut eam tenerius diligeret. Unde loco corporis Christi suborta est quedam magna quantitas carnis in ore eius, ita quod ipsa fere extincta est. Et hunc casum habetis in illa decretali Alexandri iii extra tytulum capitulo 'De illa'." Robert of Courcon, *Summa*, ibid. I have not been to find any reference to this incident in any canon law collections. It was not included among the *Decretales*.

[52] "Si autem videtur quod in tali articulo debeat ei porrigere simplicem hostia. Pretera egrotus quandoque adeo graviter laborat et adeo debilis est quod non potest nisi cum periculo sumere corpus Christi. Unde hoc attendentes canonici sancti victoris optulerunt episcopo Mauritio laboranti in extremis simplicem hostiam loco corporis Christi. At ille spiritus sancti instinctu inclamavit 'Ut quid voluistis mihi illudere offerentes mihi simplicem hostiam pro eucharistia?' Unde paulo post ipsis offerentibus corpus Christi agnovit illud subito et ei obviam occurit. Quamvis valitudinarius [*recte*: valetudinarius] adorans illud et quia illud sumere non potest, ait 'Ascende ad dexteram patris et interella pro me peccator.'" Robert of Courcon, *Summa*, fol. 146v1.

century, some theologians specifically objected to miracle hosts and to their exposition as relics for the worship of the faithful. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, was quite skeptical of eucharistic miracles, but reluctantly admitted that such a miracle might occur. The remaining flesh and blood, however, were certainly not that of the risen Christ. Thomas added, moreover, a gratuitous note that tells us much of his possible opinion of devotion to such miracles,

> But that which appears under the likeness of flesh in this sacrament, continues for a long time; indeed, one reads of its being enclosed, and by order of many bishops, preserved in a pyx, which it would be wicked to think of Christ under his proper semblance.[53]

Thomas, then, along with many of his contemporaries in the universities, was concerned that worship of eucharistic miracles would mislead people into thinking that the flesh and blood that appeared on the altar was really that of Jesus.

Again, popular devotion ignored the warnings of the theologians. According to Kristen Van Ausdall:

> Despite or because of [such miracles'] popularity, the simplified, physically-tangible view of the Eucharist encouraged by the imagery of the transubstantiated Host often came under attack. Whether the host bled, was stabbed, survived fire, or transformed itself into the vision of the infant Christ or the bleeding man of sorrows, these images were taken quite literally by those unversed in the subtleties of Eucharistic theology.[54]

Throngs of people flocked to pilgrimage sites such as the elaborate chapel in the cathedral in Orvieto, which was dedicated to a miracle in which the host changed to flesh and bled onto the corporal that covered the altar when an unbelieving priest said Mass in neighboring Bolsena. The bloody corporal, still extant in Orvieto, was preserved in a beautiful fourteenth-century reliquary housed in the chapel. The chapel itself is a shrine to miracle hosts; its walls are decorated with frescoes that relate and celebrate several eucharistic miracles. In the fifteenth century, one of the most popular pilgrimage sights was Wilsnack in Germany, dedicated to

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[53] "Hoc autem quod sub specie carnis in hoc sacramento apparet, diu permanet, quinimmo quandoque legitur esse inclusum, et multorum episcoporum consilio in pixide reservatum; quod nefas est de Christo sentire secundum propriam speciem," Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologicae*, pars III, Q. 76 art. 8, Corpus Thomisticum, Textum Leoninum Romae, 1906 editum, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/sth4074.html.

[54] Van Ausdall, "Art and Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages," p. 605.

three hosts that had miraculously survived a fire in the village. In Wilsnack, as in Orvieto, "The pilgrim was welcomed by a rich pictorial program with murals, painted panels, and sculptures referring to the relic, the miraculous Host, or other related objects such as contact relics illustrating the miracle," as Gerhard Lutz so clearly described it.[55]

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, ordinary believers could be certain of the real presence of the risen Christ. They could visit the elaborate centers dedicated to miracle hosts such as Orvieto or Wilsnack and not only see the miracles for themselves (for an appropriate fee), but also be overwhelmed by magnificent art, music, and architecture celebrating that presence. The experience must have been both exhilarating and intimidating, especially for a poor peasant from a small village.

The Mass as Sacrifice

Medieval theologians continued the language of early Christianity in describing the Eucharist as a sacrifice.[56] This topic, however important it became during the Reformation, received little attention in the Middle Ages. According to Francis Clark in his classic study, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, "If one thing seems clear it is that there was no original speculation about the Eucharistic sacrifice in the 'autumn' of medieval scholasticism, that is, from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries."[57] Most theologians simply followed Peter Lombard in his influential *Sentences*:

> To this we briefly reply that what is offered and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and an immolation because it is a memorial and a representation of the true sacrifice and holy immolation made upon the altar of the cross. Christ died once, upon the cross, and there he was immolated in

[55] Gerhard Lutz, "Late Medieval Sacred Spaces and the Eucharist," in *A Companion*, p. 466.

[56] For a recent discussion of the use of sacrificial language in Christian thought, see Robert Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (T&T Clark, 2009).

[57] Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* (Devon, 1980), p. 78. "In the later Middle Ages there was hardly any theorizing on the question of the inner-essence of the Mass-sacrifice. That had not yet become one of the standard themes in discussions of the theologians, and they were content to repeat what the fathers and the earlier scholastics had said, without making deeper explorations," Ibid., p. 216.

> his own self; and yet every day he is immolated sacramentally, because there is a recalling of what was once done.[58]

Medieval theologians agreed that Mass was a sign or memorial of Christ's passion that could not and did not repeat the unique sacrifice of Calvary. The Mass added nothing new to the remission of sins accomplished by Christ in his death on the cross.[59] If the Mass added nothing new to the redemption achieved by Christ on the cross, then why bother to celebrate it? Medieval theologians offered several answers. First and foremost, the celebration of the Mass was a memorial and sign of the sacrifice of Christ. More than that, however, it was an efficacious sign, that is, a sacrament.[60] The Mass gave the participants access to the grace achieved by Christ. As Gabriel Biel put it in the fifteenth century:

> In order that an unfading memory of his most sacred passion should always endure among his faithful followers, our Lord instituted this ineffable sacrament as a perpetual memorial, so that there should never be lacking a sign of the redemption he wrought—a salutary and efficacious sign through which the salvation gained at such cost should flow to the redeemed.[61]

Thomas Aquinas had offered a similar explanation earlier:

> The passion of Christ is a sufficient cause of man's salvation. But it does not follow from this that the sacraments are not necessary for man's salvation, because they work by virtue of Christ's passion, and the passion of Christ in a certain manner is applied to man through sacraments.[62]

How exactly the merits of the cross were distributed to the faithful who participated at Mass was the subject of considerable speculation. First, as a sacrifice, the merits gained by Christ were able to benefit not only those

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[58] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.12.5, 2: 308. Translation in Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, p. 75.

[59] For a summary of medieval teaching on the sacrifice of the Mass, see Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 93–95.

[60] E.g., the discussion in Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.1.1–6, 2: 23–36.

[61] Gabriel Biel, *Canonis misse expositio*, pars 4, lectio 85, lit., ed. L. Heiko Oberman and William Courtney (Wiesbaden, 1967), p. 204. Translation in Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 88–89.

[62] "Ad tertium dicendum quod passio Christi est causa sufficiens humanae salutis. Nec propter hoc sequitur quod sacramenta non sint necessaria ad humanam salutem, quia operantur in virtute passionis Christi, et passio Christi quodammodo applicatur hominibus per sacramenta, . . ." Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologicae*, pars III q. 61 a 1 ad 3, Corpus Thomisticum, http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/sth4060.html. Translation in Carl Wisløff, *The Gift of Communon: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice*, trans. Joseph Shaw (Minneapolis, 1964), p. 126.

present at the ceremony, but also those absent, including those in purgatory. In fact, the Second Council of Lyons (1274) specifically declared that Masses were of benefit to the souls in purgatory.[63] Scotists and Thomists disagreed over how these benefits could be distributed. Scotists argued that each Mass distributed only a limited amount of the immeasurable benefits gained by Christ in his sacrifice. Therefore the more people each Mass benefited, the less each individual might receive. However, many Masses said for the same person would grant that person more benefits. Thomists disagreed, arguing that since the benefits gained by Christ were immeasurable, each person benefited immeasurably in the benefits bestowed at Mass.[64] According to Clark:

> The Scotist opinion that only a limited measure of spiritual benefit is available to be applied by each mass won much favor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, since it seemed to many to offer the best theological explanation for the traditional practice and discipline of the church.[65]

As Clark suggests, the question was not just academic. Surviving relatives requested that priests say Masses for the dead, and provided sometimes hefty donations for doing so. Could priests say one Mass for many souls all at once, thus fulfilling several obligations at once? How many Masses were enough to remove the souls of a beloved departed soul from the torment of purgatory? The number of Masses proliferated with the result that there were priests who were hired to do nothing but say Masses for the departed, so-called "chantry priests." According to Timothy Thidobeau:

> The chantry priest is . . . emblematic of the objectification of the eucharist and a concomitant arithmetical form of piety which viewed the daily sacrifice of the mass as a talisman that offered spiritual benefits beyond the here and now. In this exchange of temporal for spiritual currency, wealthy and not-so-wealthy patrons endowed and prescribed the daily celebrations of mass and other devotions for the passage of their souls or the souls of deceased loved ones from the sorrows of purgatory to the beatific vision of heaven.[66]

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[63] Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, p. 77.

[64] For a summary of this debate, see Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 261–262, 325–337.

[65] Clark lists a number of theologians who followed the Scotists, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 371–372.

[66] Timothy Thidobeau, "Western Christendom," in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen Westerfield Tucker (Oxford, 2006), p. 220. For a recent study of the medieval concept of temporal merit for spiritual gain, see Robert Shaffern, "The Medieval Theology of Indulgences," in *Promissory Notes on the Treasure of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Leiden, 2006), pp. 11–36.

Conclusion

Sixteenth-century reformers, then, might be understood to be objecting to a complex of interlocking theology and practice that was a construct of the eleventh-century reforms as they were developed and elaborated in the ensuing centuries. A separate and privileged clerical caste, created by ordination, controlled the Eucharist. Only they could make Christ present on the altar and, equally important, only they could assign the merits the Eucharist mediated to the living and the dead. Further, the presence of Christ was very real to many medieval Christians. They heard the stories of miracles wrought by that presence and could witness the results of those miracles in popular pilgrimage sites all around Europe. The conundrum of how Christ could be present in the Eucharist consumed the energies of medieval theologians, who elaborated more and more complex theories of the relationships among the Aristotelian categories of substance, accidents, and quantity to explain this miraculous presence. The ritual itself focused attention on the power of the priest and the presence of the risen Christ. When the bread was transformed into the body of Christ, it was raised on high for all to see, and bells were rung to announce the arrival of the divine. Since reception of communion was infrequent, a set of devotions, some bordering on the superstitious, arose to honor and participate in this divine presence.

The sixteenth-century reformers were born into this world but by the end of the sixteenth century the late medieval cultural complex that was the Eucharist had largely disappeared from Europe. Reforms initiated in Wittenberg, Geneva, Canterbury, and at the Council of Trent radically transformed and reformed the late medieval Eucharist, for good and evil, into a much more austere ritual and theology. A world of color and pageantry, both reveling in and in awe of the divine presence, slowly faded into the grimmer, but, all agreed, more devout, shades of the many Reformations begun in the sixteenth century.

MARTIN LUTHER

Volker Leppin

The teaching on the Lord's Supper divides Western Christianity to this day. It was one of the main topics of the Reformation. The Lutheran doctrine is clearly distinct from Roman Catholic as well as from Calvinistic views. At first, the German reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) developed his own view within the frame of late medieval theology and piety. But as early as 1518, he came to convictions later censured as heretical. After 1520 he rejected the medieval sense of the Mass as a sacrifice; for him, that sense contradicted the gospel proclamation of God's pure grace which would never demand any human activity. While all Evangelicals agreed on this, they soon divided over questions of the mode and reality of Christ's presence in the Supper.

Luther's position can perhaps best be understood through reconstructing its steps of development.

I. Reasoning the Lord's Supper within the Frame of a Theology of Piety

1. *First Step: Communion Theology*

In his famous tract of 1520 *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* Luther claimed that up until 1519 his understanding of the Eucharist had not differed from what was generally held.[1] Indeed, his "Sermon on Proper Preparation of the Heart for the Reception of the Sacrament of the Eucharist" presumably held on April 1, 1518, sounds quite traditional for the most part. In it Luther explains the *res* or thing of the Eucharist as the union of hearts and compares this, picking up images in eucharistic prayers, with the collection of grains for the bread and of grapes for the wine. The elements of the Eucharist are signs of ecclesiastical communion.[2]

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[1] Martin Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 72 vols. (Weimar, 1883–2009), hereafter WA, 6:502.

[2] Martin Luther, "Sermo de digna praeparatione cordis pro suscipiendo sacramento Eucharistiae," in WA 1:329.

Luther's emphasis on communion reflects the continuing mystical context of his thinking during these years. Beginning in 1515, he found inspiration in the texts of John Tauler and the *Theologia Deutsch*. Mysticism seems to have shaped Luther's theological understanding as late as his first protest against a practice of the medieval church, his theses against the indulgences of 1517.[3] As Tauler had done,[4] Luther interpreted the experience of eating as an expression of union with Christ; any meal in a special sense suggests a union of eating and eaten, a melting into one another. He writes, "The meal leaves/goes and is transformed into the [person's] nature and becomes one being with the one being fed."[5] It is a crude metaphor, and like Tauler, Luther did not dare use it to describe what happens in the Eucharist in his "Sermon on the Sacrament of the Body of Christ and on Confraternities," written at the end of 1519. In exactly this manner those who receive the Eucharist are unified and "conformed" with Christ[6]—Luther used the concept of *conformitas* he had learned from his confessor, John of Staupitz, to describe the relationship between the believer and Jesus Christ. He also adopted another mystical concept, drawing on the image of the exchange of goods, made famous in his later tract, *On the Freedom of a Christian*,[7] to explain the union with Christ. It is Christ who gives us all his goods and who picks up our sin and passion.[8] Again, one can see the mystical context of Luther's early theology, which led him to understand the sacrament as a catalyst or impetus for mystical union. This does not contradict sacramental devotion, nor does it lead to individualism. The unification with Christ means a uni-

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[3] Volker Leppin,"'*omnem vitam fidelium penitentiam esse voluit*.' Zur Aufnahme mystischer Traditionen in Luthers erster Ablaßthese," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 93 (2002): 7–25.

[4] Johann Tauler, "Predigt, Qui manducat meam carnem . . .," in *Die Predigten Taulers aus der Engelberger und der Freiburger Handschrift so wie aus Schmidts Abschriften der ehemaligen Staßburger Handschriften*, ed. Ferdinand Vetter (Hildesheim 2000; Berlin 1910), p. 293: "Nu ist en kein materielich ding da sals nahe und inwendiklich den menschen kume als essen und trinken, das der mensche zΓ dem munde in nimet, und dar umbe das er sich in das aller nechste und inwendigste uns vereinde, so vant er dise wunderlichen wise."

[5] Martin Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," in WA 2:748: "Syntemal die speyß geht und wirt vorwandelt yn die natur und wirt eyn weßen mit dem gespeyßten."

[6] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 748.

[7] Martin Luther, "Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen," in WA 7:25, 28–34.

[8] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 743.

fication with his spiritual body,[9] i.e., with his saints.[10] The Wittenberg reformer here alludes to the Creed's confession of the communion of the saints, claiming that this union with the saints gave the Supper its name, "*communio*."[11] For Luther, in the days between the Leipzig disputation and the reformation tracts of 1520, Eucharistic theology centered around this notion of communion such that we can call it a "communion theology".

This does not mean, however, that Luther neglected or even denied the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements. On the contrary, in these early tracts he clearly connects the *corpus Christi mysticum* and the *Corpus Christi reale*. We need the Eucharist to be incorporated into the spiritual body of Christ, as citizens need a document assigning their citizenship.[12] And this spiritual document is of the strongest reality. The "Sermon vom Sakrament des Leichnams Christi" counts three things in the Supper: first, the "sacrament or sign"; second, its significance, what the described union with Christ and the Saints means; and third, the faith which connects the sign to its significance.[13]

With this, Luther refers to the Augustinian tradition with its distinction of *res* and *signum*, thing and sign. While the *res* is the communion, the sign does not lose its real shape. Luther does not stress but presupposes that, with the elements, we get Jesus Christ himself, because the visible signs of bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Jesus Christ.[14] Luther at least does not deny the doctrine of transubstantiation at this time, just weeks after Philipp Melanchthon had declared this doctrine was not founded in Scripture and therefore no Christian was bound to believe it.[15] Indeed, Luther did not argue this point, as he later would, with the words of institution. On the contrary, he interpreted them as

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[9] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," pp. 748–49.

[10] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," pp. 742–743.

[11] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 743.

[12] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 743.

[13] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 742.

[14] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 749.

[15] Philipp Melanchthon, "Theses for the Bachelor," in *Reformatorische Schriften*, vol. 1, *Melanchthons Werke*, ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh, 1951), pp. 24–25.

referring just to the spiritual body.[16] He did not know nor could he have even imagined that in a few years others would attack the real presence of Christ in the elements. He himself did not express any doubts. He did not enter into the question of whether or not Christ gave his holy body in the Last Supper.[17]

Real presence at this stage was not of great importance to Luther, and he emphasized not this, but faith. Faith did not just connect sign and significance; it could also become independent of both. There was a mystical tradition of relativizing, if not replacing, the outward execution of sacraments by the inner attitude of the devout. Luther brought this forward with reference to Augustine: faith alone made the sacrament.[18] To him, the right place for faith was in the disposition toward the sacrament. In the reception of the sacrament nothing should have a place except faith alone.[19] His aim was to show the importance of pious disposition for the Eucharist. As he stated in 1518 in his instructions for the confession of sins, it was not enough to simply take the Eucharist by mouth; faith was necessary to make this meal salvific.[20] This was not directed against the objective presence of Christ independent of the believer's disposition, but it questioned the concept of a sacrament acting in the medieval formulation, *ex opere operato*, just by the correct performance. This conclusion was so provocative that it was set into the bull "Exsurge domine" as one of Luther's sentences to be condemned.[21]

2. *Second Step: Transformation by the Theology of the Word*

Luther did not simply give up those mystical ideas, so that we could describe a Luther before and after, as simple models of a reformatory trajectory suggest. Indeed, in his sermon for Maundy Thursday 1523, he still described the effects of the Lord's Supper along exactly the same lines he had developed earlier, claiming that the believer would become "one

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[16] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," pp. 745–746.

[17] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 746.

[18] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 742.

[19] Luther, "Sermo de digna praeparatione cordis," p. 331.

[20] Martin Luther, "Instructio pro confessione peccatorum," in WA 1:264.

[21] *Exsurge Domine*, ed. Heinrich Denzinger, Peter Hünermann, in Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen, 40th ed. (Freiburg u. a., 2005), no. 1465.

cake" ("kuchen") with Christ himself as well as with all other believers.[22] Even as late as 1526, when the intra-Evangelical conflicts over the Lord's Supper had not yet started, he could still speak about Jesus Christ being present not only in the elements, but also, through preaching, analogously, in the hearts of his believers, where Christ enters exactly as he sits at his Father's right side.[23] Nevertheless, the mystical reflections were overwhelmed more and more by other paradigms, specifically, his theology of God's Word and his doctrine of justification.

In many respects, one can see Luther reformulating his mystical convictions through his insights into the need for a clear theology of the Word of God. After October 1517, when he had sent his theses against the indulgences to some bishops, these insights grew in the course of his struggle with Rome. One of these transformations, for example, was his new understanding of the typical mystical dialectics. Tauler and others had taught that to be prepared for the infusion of Christ man should become nothing before God. This was a kind of destruction and reconstruction of a human being. Luther reformulated this by his famous dialectics of Law and Gospel.[24] This new approach's effect on his theology of the Eucharist can be seen in his "Sermon on the New Testament, that is, on the Holy Mass" of July 1520. The Word of God has both a criteriological and a soteriologicalimpact here. Criteriologically, Luther tries to understand the original sense of Christ's institution, because the nearer Christians come to the first Mass, the better it is, as he comments.[25] Reconstructing this original sense, in Luther's perspective, means to explore its character as a testament, in which Jesus Christ, prepared to die, stated his last will—the forgiveness of sins.[26] To acknowledge this last will, Christ gave a sign, which, again presupposing the real presence, Luther denotes as Christ's real body and blood under bread and wine. But this sign signifies an inner sense.[27] Here we come to the soteriological relevance of the Word of God, which in the same moment indicates that the changes affect more than just a formal reasoning. The significance no longer lies primarily in the ecclesiastical concept of communion or in the mystical unification with

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[22] Martin Luther, "Eyn Sermon am grunen Donnerstag [1523]," in WA 12:485.

[23] Martin Luther, "Sermon von dem Sakrament," in WA 19:489.

[24] See Volker Leppin, "Luther's Transformation of Late Medieval Mysticism," *Lutheran Forum* 44 (2010): pp. 25–29.

[25] Martin Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe," in WA 6:355.

[26] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament," pp. 357–358.

[27] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament," p. 359.

Christ, but in the mentioned substance of the testament—Christ giving us his benefits. In this perspective, the sacrament becomes fully dependent on the Word. Jesus Christ would not have instituted the sacrament if he had not wanted his benefits to be preached.[28]

Theologically, preaching was to come first, and only then, the sacrament of the Eucharist. The sacrament, in other words, does not stand alone, but is made by the Word of God.[29] Luther can thus also state in 1522, that we can do without the sacrament, but not without the Word.[30] Notably, this transformation gives more outer certainty. While faith is still the key to making the sacrament fruitful, Luther clears the base of it—it is the primacy of God himself in which the faith trusts.[31]

3. *Luther's New Concept: A Top-down Understanding of the Eucharist*

The goal of this shift in Luther's theology is more than just a reformulation of Eucharistic theology through a theology of the Word. Indeed, Luther's eucharistic teaching totally altered the dynamics of the Lord's Supper. While medieval theology, with the priest as a representative of both God and the Church, encompassed a double-direction-dynamic—prayer and supper rising to heaven and God's grace coming from above—Luther established a one-direction-dynamic; there was no other way than from above. God alone was actor, man was pure receiver. Any acting of man, to Luther's mind, destroyed the exclusiveness of God's grace, as Luther had taught it since about 1516. In the following years, he added *sola fide* to *sola gratia*, forming his doctrine of justification. Whenever this might have been completed, in 1520 Luther drew the consequences for the Lord's Supper. In the same context in which he spoke about Christ's benefits, and as a consequence of those benefits, in the "Sermon on the New Testament," Luther drew the lines of a completely top-down dynamic in the Eucharist. There is nothing that can be brought from earth to heaven; all good comes from above. All acts in the Lord's Supper come from God; nothing comes from human beings.[32] There is no place left for an

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[28] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament," p. 373.

[29] Martin Luther, "Das Hauptstück des ewigen und neuen Testaments gepredigt am Gründonnerstag [1522]," in WA 10/3:70.

[30] Luther, "Das Hauptstück des ewigen und neuen Testaments gepredigt am Gründonnerstag [1522]," p. 68.

[31] Martin Luther, "Sermon von der würdigen Empfahung des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi (1521)," in WA 7:695.

[32] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament," p. 356.

understanding of the Eucharist as a sacrifice.[33] However understood, right or wrong, from then on this concept stood at the center of Luther's attacks against traditional teaching on the Eucharist. Whoever thought the Eucharist to be a sacrifice denied the gospel of justification—justified by grace through pure faith.

II. The Struggle against Rome

Following Luther's words in his principal tract against the traditional doctrine of sacraments, *The Babylonian Captivity*, there were three captivities of the Lord's Supper in the old belief: first, the captivity of the laity's cup;[34] second, the captivity of the presence of Christ, defined by transubstantiation;[35] and third, the captivity to the interpretation of the Mass as sacrifice.[36]

1. *The Captivity of the Laity's Cup*

Luther slowly and carefully approached the question of the cup for the laity. In the "Sermon on the Sacrament of the Body of Christ and on Confraternities," he explicitly states that the old form of the Lord's Supper included both elements, the wine as well as the bread, but, as he added, it was not necessary to follow this custom anymore; the question should be left for a council's decision.[37] In *The Babylonian Captivity*, his view was a bit more decisive: at the very least, when the laity wished to receive the wine, they should; otherwise Christ's commandment would be broken.[38] In this regard, the Hussites had all truth on their side, while the Roman Church had to be seen as heretical.[39] The leading reason for this, for Luther, was the concept of the common priesthood of all believers: if there was no difference at all between lay people and priests concerning

[33] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament," p. 369.
[34] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 507.
[35] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," pp. 508ff.
[36] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 512.
[37] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Brüderschaften," p. 742.
[38] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 503.
[39] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," pp. 504–505.

the questions of salvation, then they also should not receive the Supper in different ways.[40]

2. *The Captivity of the Presence of Christ, Defined by Transubstantiation*

Although Luther stressed the spiritual aspects of the Eucharist in his earlier years, he never denied the real presence of Jesus Christ. The struggle with Rome led him to the question if the doctrine of transubstantiation, as first set forth at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, was adequate to understand this presence. For Luther, it was not. He knew the late medieval critique of this doctrine and adopted it in a more general way. He did not explicitly adopt the doctrine of consubstantiation, although read against a medieval background, some of his utterances show a remarkable familiarity with it, for example, when he declares that Christ's body could be merged in the substance of the bread (*substantia panis*) as fire and iron can be merged one in the other.[41] Later he even stated that real bread and wine would remain beside ("neben") the body and the blood of Christ.[42]

Nevertheless, his point was not to establish an alternative explanation of Christ's presence against that of transubstantiation, that, as Luther knew, caused so many philosophical problems.[43] There was no need to trust in one explanation or the other. The only thing of importance was not *how*, but *that* the true body and blood of Christ were present on the altar.[44] Taking up the citation of 2 Corinthians 10:5, "we . . . take every thought captive to obey Christ," which had been used so often in the Middle Ages against too broad an application of philosophy, Luther claimed he was willing to believe that Christ was present in the Eucharist even if he did not understand how this worked.[45] The authority of God's Word was of far more weight than any doubt in our mind.[46] The hermeneutic key to understanding what happened in the Eucharist was Luther's insight into the union of human and divine nature in Jesus Christ, a subject that later on, in the controversy with Huldrych Zwingli, was to become of greater importance. "Sicut ergo in Christo res se habet, ita et in

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[40] Luther, "Das Hauptstück des ewigen und neuen Testaments gepredigt am Gründonnerstag [1522]," p. 70.
[41] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 510; see also pp. 511–512.
[42] Luther, "Vom Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi," in WA 11:441.
[43] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 508.
[44] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 508.
[45] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 511.
[46] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 511.

sacramento," meaning "as things are in Jesus Christ, so also are they in the sacrament."[47] From this point on, he had to stress that the "est,"the "is" in the words of institution, could not just be understood as "significat,"as he was hearing people interpret them in this way.[48]

3. *The Captivity to the Interpretation of the Mass as Sacrifice*

The third and most important point was Luther's rejection of any understanding of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, offered by men to please God. The biblical foundation for his position is Hebrews 7:27, "There had been one sacrifice for all, so that no other sacrifice could have its place."[49] In *The Babylonian Captivity*, the third captivity was to hold that the Mass was a "good work or sacrifice."[50] For Luther, the sole meaning of the Eucharist was as a testament, as developed before, and the sense of this testament was God's promise to forgive men's sins.[51] This could not be attained by works or human means or merits; it could only be attained by faith.[52] Here we see the dense connection of Luther's teaching on justification and on the sacrament. The only right understanding of the latter had to be directed by the correct doctrine of justification. This meant pure passivity regarding man, *iustitia passiva*, as Luther later called it.[53] The Eucharist was pure gift.[54] With this, the top-down understanding of the Eucharist was established. This is the positive side of Luther's teaching. In the course of the Reformation, he presented the negative side more and more strongly. In Luther's eyes, the concept of sacrifice was a sign

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[47] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 511.

[48] Martin Luther, "Vom Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi," p. 434.

[49] Martin Luther, "Vom Greuel der Stillmesse," in WA 18:25. Luther's translation of the passage from Hebrews reads: "Er hat es nicht nötig, wie jene Hohenpriester, täglich zuerst für die eigenen Sünden Opfer darzubringen und dann für die des Volkes; denn das hat er ein für allemal getan, als er sich selbst opferte," *Die Bibel*, trans. Martin Luther, accessed 7 August 2012, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/l/luther/luther-idx?type=DIV2&byte=4763412. The RSV reads again differently: "He has no need, like those high priests, to offer sacrifices daily, first for his own sins and then for those of the people; he did this once for all when he offered up himself," accessed 7 August 2012, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/r/rsv/rsv-idx?type=DIV1&byte=5433128.

[50] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 512.

[51] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 513.

[52] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 514.

[53] Martin Luther, "Vorrede zum 1. Bande der Gesamtausgabe seiner lateinischen Schriften," in WA 54:186.

[54] Luther, "Vom Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligenLeichnams Christi," p. 442.

of the Antichrist,[55] indeed, his worst atrocity.[56] As a consequence, in his harsh Articles of Schmalkalden of 1537, Luther claimed that the Eucharist marked the absolute border between Lutherans and the Pope: "So, for eternity, we are divorced and opposed to one another" ("Also sind und bleiben wir ewiglich gescheiden und wider nander").[57]

III. Quarrels Among the Reformers

Luther argued his understanding of the Eucharist against two fronts: the papal side and other Evangelicals. The first conflict with other Evangelicals involved one of his earliest Wittenberg companions, Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541).[58] Karlstadt, who had been Dean of the Wittenberg Theological Faculty for Luther's doctoral promotion, had been forced to leave Wittenberg after the disturbance there during Luther's exile in the Wartburg in 1521–1522. Karlstadt was exiled to the Saxon city of Orlamünde near Jena. In the years following, he developed a singular understanding of the words of institution: that Jesus Christ saying "*tuto*" did not mean the bread, but pointed to himself, identifying quite simply his own body as "my body." To Karlstadt, the words of institution did not give any reason to assume a real presence of Christ's body in the bread and the wine. Nor did they for Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531), the Basel reformer who showed extensively that since the time of the Church Fathers, the understanding of the words of institution had been a symbolic one. Oecolampadius's interpretation was more intricate than Karlstsadt's, but the point was the same: to show that there was no biblical grounds for the presupposition of a real presence. Luther attacked both. He addressed Karlstadt directly in his long tract *Against the Heavenly Prophets, Concerning Images and Sacrament*, written at the beginning of 1525,[59] and Oecolampadius indirectly in 1526 via a preface he contributed to the "Syngramma Suevicum,"[60] a collective text of Swabian preachers on the Eucharist.

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[55] Luther, "Vom Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi," p. 441.

[56] Martin Luther, "Schmalkaldische Artikel," in WA 50:200.

[57] Luther, "Schmalkaldische Artikel," p. 204.

[58] On Karlstadt's understanding of the Eucharist, see John Rempel's contribution to this volume.

[59] Martin Luther, "Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament," in WA 18:134–214.

[60] Martin Luther, "Vorrede zum Syngramma Suevicum," in WA 19:457–461, 529.

Among Evangelicals, Luther found his main adversary in the Zurich reformer, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531).[61] Zwingli was very much impressed by a letter of the humanist Honius that proclaimed the understanding of the "est" as "signifies." In this sense, the words of institution did not identify Christ's body with the bread ontologically, but presented it as a symbol. Zwingli explained his view in 1525 in his *Commentary on True and False Religion*.[62] Compared to Karlstadt's and Oecolampadius's, his claim for a symbolic understanding of the Eucharist had the great advantage that the biblical interpretation was not forced by any special assumption; for him, the words of institution were just one, albeit special, case of the wide use of metaphorical speech in the Bible. All three attacked the concept of real presence and Luther's rejection of any symbolic understanding encompassed all three. In 1527, Zwingli wrote his "Amica exegesis,"[63] which indeed, as the title says, was a friendly attempt to discuss the question of Eucharist with Luther. The Wittenberg professor answered within the same year, stressing his most important point—God's Word itself bound all human understanding. The title of his tract, *That the Words of Christ, "This is my body," Are Steadfast against the Fanatics*,[64] made this clear. Labeling all his adversaries as fanatics, Luther showed that he saw them all deviating from the true sense of Scripture and the Holy Spirit, and following only their own minds. In responding, Zwingli varied Luther's title just a bit, *The Words of Christ: "This is My Body, that is Given for You," Will Keep Their Sense Forever*, again, in 1527.[65] Again, Luther answered, in 1528, with *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*.[66] To him, this treatise was conclusive. He did not await Zwingli's answer and did not have in mind to pursue the discussion in person, as happened in 1529 at the Marburg Colloquy.

The group of tracts gives a dense ensemble of Eucharistic theology, showing the main points of discussion among Evangelicals. There are five points in which Luther stressed his own position against Zwingli:

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[61] On Zwingli's theology of the Eucharist, see Carrie Euler's contribution to this volume.

[62] Huldrych Zwingli, "De vera et falsa religione commentarius," in *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Emil Egli et al., Corpus Reformatorum 88–101 (Berlin, 1905; reprint Munich, 1981), 90: 628–912, hereafter CR.

[63] Huldrych Zwingli, "Amica exegesis, id est: exposition eucharistiae negotii ad Martinum Lutherum," in CR 92:562–758.

[64] Martin Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das ist mein Leib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," in WA 23:64–283.

[65] Huldrych Zwingli, "Daß diese Worte: Das ist mein Leib usw. ewiglich den alten sinn haben warden usw.," in CR 92:805–977.

[66] Martin Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi. Bekenntnis," in WA 26:261–509.

1. *Hermeneutics*

In the foreground was the question of whether or not the "est" in "Hoc est corpus meum" could be understood as a "signifies" or not. But the question was not easy. Indeed, every reader of the Bible had to admit that 1 Corinthians 10:4, "and the rock was Christ," could not mean that Christ ontologically was a rock. Here we have the example for metaphorical speech in the Bible using the copula "est," respectively, "erat." Luther argued against this first, that one could not easily transfer what was right in the one case to the other. He showed himself skeptical of exactly the principle that made Zwingli's argumentation so strong: the general grammar rule. More convincing was his second point: in 1 Corinthians 10, Paul explicitly speaks of a spiritual rock. So the metaphorical sense does not need to be introduced by grammatical analysis; it is explicitly given in the text itself.[67] To return to the words of institution, Luther showed himself convinced that anyone, even nonbelievers, would understand the words in the pure and simple sense that they indicated Christ's body to be in the bread.[68] But he did not want to understand this in the crude sense of an identification. Instead, he argued with a rhetorical figure, the synecdoche, a special case of the part for the whole. Just as we can give someone a purse, saying, "There you have 100 guilder," we can also show the bread and identify the body of Christ with it, indicating that this is the essential content of the words.[69]

2. *The Dynamics of the Eucharist*

As in his struggle with Rome, Luther also stressed against Zwingli his concept of God acting alone in the Eucharist. Although Zwingli shared Luther's rejection of an understanding of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, he did not agree with his top-down dynamics. Instead, Zwingli recalled an older understanding of "*sacramentum*" as an oath and, along this line, understood the Eucharist as a form of confession in which the believer showed himself to be a true Christian before God and the congregation. Consequently, Zwingli came to a view totally different from Luther's, arguing instead for a bottom-up dynamic. It was not God who bestowed on man, but man who rose to God in prayer and thanksgiving. Luther

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[67] Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das ist mein Leib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," pp. 101–103.

[68] Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi. Bekenntnis," p. 406.

[69] Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi. Bekenntnis," p. 444.

accused Zwingli of making God's Supper the Christian's Supper.[70] To teach God acting utterly alone remained Luther's central point in all his conflicts.

3. *Ideas of Ontology*

Zwingli had been influenced by late medieval Scotism as well as by the humanists. Both shaped his general ontology which had some impact on his eucharistic teaching. From Scotism, he learned the inmeasurable distance of creator from creation, of God from humankind. From the humanists, he took the interpretation of this difference in terms of the concepts of matter and spirit. The two were discrete kinds of reality which should not be confused. The reason to relate this to the Lord's Supper was John 6:63: "It is the spirit that gives life; the flesh is useless." Zwingli was convinced that in the context of the words of institution, this had to be seen as a statement on the substances of the Supper. Luther's rejection of this use of John 6 dated earlier than the conflict with Zwingli. As early as in *The Babylonian Captivity*, he stated that John 6 did not have anything to do with the Supper, though pointing to John 6:53, not 6:63.[71] In this context his aim was to strengthen humankind's certainty. If verse 53 had to be read as a statement on the Supper, this would mean that children who did not receive the meal could never reach salvation. Luther's earlier rejection of the use of John 6 remained, along with other reasons, in his later work, especially against Zwingli. John 6:63, Luther stated, did not deal with the flesh of Jesus Christ, but with flesh in general.[72] Towards this end, he defined flesh and spirit not according to their substance, but according to the relationship from which they arose. Flesh is just what comes from flesh, and spirit is that what comes from spirit. Never mind if substantially it might be flesh.[73] Here, Luther's general tendency to reformulate questions of substantial ontology in terms of relationship had its impact on the Eucharist and also on Christology.

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[70] Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das ist mein Leib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," p. 271.

[71] Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," p. 592.

[72] Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das ist mein Leib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," p. 269.

[73] Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das istmeinLeib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," p. 193.

4. *Christology*

To Luther, John 6:63 could not mean the body of Christ, because his flesh was spiritual flesh[74]—a combination Zwingli never accepted. The deeper reason for the difference here was different Christological concepts. Zwingli is often linked with the Nestorian type of Christology, while Luther is held to express a more Kyrillian type; that is, Zwingli tended to hold Christ's two natures separate, while Luther saw them as closely und inseparably connected. To Luther, the concept of *communicatio idiomatum*, the connectedness of both natures, was the key for a crucial point in Zwingli's understanding. Zwingli could not imagine Christ's body being in the bread of the Eucharist, because Christ had risen and now sat at the right side of his Father in heaven. And a body as a circumscribed entity could not at the same time be in heaven and on the earth on the altars. Luther, in contrast, taught that neither was God's hand a defined place as Zwingli suggested,[75] nor was Christ's human nature as strongly bound to natural boundaries as were other human natures. For Luther, Christ's human nature was completely soaked in the divine nature, so that the properties of the latter could be transferred to it. Consequently, Christ's human nature could be elsewhere just as his divine nature could be.[76] From this Luther derived his doctrine of ubiquity that held it possible for the body of Christ to be not only in Heaven, but also at any place on earth, wherever God wants it to be.

5. *The Understanding of God*

The emphasis on God's will was another difference between Zwingli and Luther. Although we can no longer clearly locate Zwingli within the heritage of the *Via antiqua* as Heiko Oberman did,[77] the Zurich reformer did trust far more in the reasonableness of God's nature than did Luther. While Zwingli assumed that he could draw reliable conclusions from his insights into the properties of special substances and natures, Luther

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[74] Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das istmeinLeib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," p. 203.

[75] Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das ist mein Leib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," p. 231.

[76] Luther, "Daß diese Worte Christi 'Das ist mein Leib etc.' noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister," p. 147; Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi. Bekenntnis," pp. 332–333.

[77] Heiko Augustinus Oberman, "*Via Antiqua* and *Via moderna*: Late Medieval Prolegomena to Early Reformation Thought," in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. Anne Hudson and Michael Wilks (Oxford, 1987), pp. 445–463.

again and again referred to God's will. There are few places in Luther's theology where one can see so clearly the impact of his learning in the *Via moderna* as in this aspect of eucharistic teaching. Even the example he chose to show that the miracle of eucharistic presence was trustworthy had its background in late medieval scholastic discourse. In several tracts he argued with the notion of Jesus Christ coming into rooms despite their doors being closed (Luke 20:26)[78]—an argument also found in William of Ockham.[79] Comparable to his teaching on the kind of Christ's presence, so close to consubstantiation, Luther shows on this point the lasting impact of his training in medieval theology, even in conflicts with other Evangelicals.

Those conflicts themselves were so deep and harsh that all efforts to bring peace among Evangelicals failed. Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse, saw most clearly the political problems of this quarrel, mainly after the Second Diet of Speyer in 1529—which had ended with the reaffirmation of the Edict of Worms against Luther and his followers and the official protestation of the reforming territories. Philipp arranged a colloquy at Marburg in October 1529, which was the only time Luther and Zwingli ever met. But they did not come together in peace. In preparing for the meeting, the Wittenberg group repeated their teaching of real presence in the Articles of Schwabach.[80] At Marburg, Luther showed Zwingli the words of institution written on the table. One scene symbolized all the subtle differences, and Evangelicals parted without a stable agreement. They signed fifteen articles on theological questions; fourteen of the articles expressed unity, but the last dealt with the Supper. Again, they could say something together; explicitly, they agreed in rejecting the understanding of the Eucharist as human work to earn salvation. They could also emphasize agreement concerning the importance of spiritual receiving and the efficacy of the Supper in strengthening consciences and faith. They could even call it a sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ together, but they could not find a common statement concerning how the earthly event was connected with the heavenly reality. No unity could be found on the question of whether or not the true body and blood of Christ

[78] Luther, "Eyn Sermon am grunen Donnerstag [1523]," pp. 476–477; Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi. Bekenntnis," p. 418.

[79] William of Ockham, "Tractatus de corpore Christi," in *Tractatus de quantitate et Tractatus de Corpore Christi*, ed. Carlo Grassi, vol. 10, *Guilelmi de Ockham Opera Theologica* (Saint Bonaventure, 1986), p. 104.

[80] See "Schwabacher Artikel," in WA 30/III:181.

was within the bread and the wine corporeally ["Ob der war leib vnd plut Christi leiblich jm Brot vnd wein sey"].[81]

This ended any possibility of unity for Luther and Zwingli. Some of Zwingli's companions, however, did find agreement with Luther later on. The Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer, together with Philipp Melanchthon, built bridges between different opinions.[82] These theological efforts again were encouraged by political needs. Strasbourg had joined the League of Schmalkalden, a defensive alliance of Protestants founded after the Diet of Augsburg of 1530. The question to be solved in this context, again, was the question of real presence, but the approach taken to solve it was an indirect one. The discussion concentrated on the question of whether or not Jesus Christ himself was received in the Lord's Supper by everyone, as Luther claimed, because of his teaching of strong presence, or solely by the faithful, as the theologians in upper Germany taught. Luther's insistence upon the *manducatio impiorum*, that nonbelievers also receive Christ, was unacceptable to Bucer.

After long discussions, they found a solution in 1536, called the Wittenberg Concord: the formula of *manducatio indignorum*, that the unworthy receive.[83] The text did not present an Upper German teaching, which Luther indignantly accepted, as some modern Lutheran scholars assume. The wording stemmed from Luther himself, and in the *Large Catechism* he addressed the question of worthiness in receiving the supper.[84] Melanchthon and Bucer had taken over that formulation in order to find a way for real unity, at least between Wittenberg and Strasbourg. This unity, indeed, was just barely possible as a result of wording that allowed for different understandings. From the same quote in the *Catechism* it is clear that for Luther, "worthy" receiving of the sacrament and "faithful" receiving of the sacrament were the same.[85] For Bucer, however, "worthy" might have had a more moral connotation. That said, the Wittenberg Concord offered a common teaching for German Protestants,[86] at least until the

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[81] See "Marburger Artikel," in WA 30/III:170.

[82] On Martin Bucer, see Nicholas Thompson's contribution to this volume.

[83] See "Wittenberger Konkordie," in *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, vol. 6, pt. 1, ed. Robert Stupperich, et al. (Gütersloh, 1988), pp. 121–134.

[84] Martin Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," in WA 30/I:224.

[85] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 226.

[86] The term, "Protestant," most accurately refers to those who signed the Protest of Speyer in 1529, but here retains its political connotations as those alliances shifted and expanded.

second conflict over the Supper, which involved John Calvin (1509–1564) and engendered new conflicts after Luther's death.

IV. Luther's Mature Position

The struggle with Zwingli and the theologians of Upper Germany brought Luther's evolution of a new understanding of the Lord's Supper to an end. He had developed images and concepts to formulate what in his eyes was important for the understanding of the Eucharist. First, everyone who wanted to be seen as a Christian had to admit that God alone acted in the Eucharist. This top-down model, which was so typical of Luther's thought, was for him the consequence of the doctrine of justification. If grace alone brought man's salvation through faith alone, there could be no actors other than God himself. His Son had come to earth to save humankind, and Christ came again and again through the signs of the Eucharist. These signs were more than mere symbols; they included what they signified—Christ himself. Second, for this reason, every Christian had to agree that the body of Jesus Christ was really given within the bread and the wine. With this twofold assumption, Luther gave his doctrine of the Lord's Supper a shape distinct from Catholic as well as Zwinglian understandings.

For his followers, he explained this sense in three steps, as he wrote in the *Large Catechism*. First, one had to know "what it is, what it brings, and who should receive it" ["was es sey, was es nütze, und wer es empfahen sol"].[87] In a rough sense, the question could be answered with the widely discussed question of real presence, which he repeated in the *Catechism*. The sacrament is "the true body and blood of Christ the Lord within and under bread and wine" ["der ware leib und blut des HERRN Christ ynn und unter dem brod und wein"].[88] Although the oft-cited formula, "within, with and under" ["in, mit und unter"], is not actually found in Luther's own writings, but in the Formula of Concord of 1577,[89] it echoes his sense. He did not worry about describing the exact location; on the contrary, he liked to describe it in different ways. For Luther, Christ was really present, whatever way one chose to describe it. This was important to give a deeper and subtler answer to the question regarding what the

[87] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 222.
[88] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 223.
[89] See "Formula Concordiae," in *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen, 1986; 1930), p. 983.

sacrament is. Following the line of his very early transformation of eucharistic teaching, he said that the sacrament was bread and wine, shaped in God's Word.[90] Even if this led to the question of why the preaching of the Word was necessary—which Luther answered with reference to God's commandment[91]—this was the core of his teaching: the sacrament was not something besides the Word of God, but an adequate expression of it.[92] From this, its benefit derived. It was a meal for the soul[93] that brought forgiveness of sin.[94] In his top-down model, Luther saw that the essential impact of the Eucharist was God leading the believers to salvation. Indeed, this was the clear answer to the third question—the ones who could and should receive the Lord's Supper were the faithful, those who trust in God's promise to forgive humankind's sins.[95]

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[90] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 223.
[91] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 227.
[92] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 223.
[93] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 225.
[94] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," pp. 224–225.
[95] Luther, "Deudsch Catechismus," p. 226.

HULDRYCH ZWINGLI AND HEINRICH BULLINGER

Carrie Euler

Introduction

For many, the subject of Huldrych Zwingli's theology of the Eucharist—or the Supper (*Abendmahl*), as he preferred to call it—is seen through the lens of the ill-fated meeting between Martin Luther and Zwingli at the Marburg Colloquy in 1529. At that meeting, the Swiss and the Saxons were able to agree on many theological points, but they could not come to a consensus on the presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements of bread and wine. Luther stood by his literal interpretation of Matthew 26:26 ("This is my body"), while Zwingli insisted that this passage had to be interpreted figuratively in light of John 6:63 ("The flesh is of no avail"). Two eyewitness accounts claim that Zwingli told Luther, "This passage breaks your neck," and that Luther replied, "German necks don't break that easily. This is Hesse, not Switzerland."[1] This dramatic exchange between the literal and figurative interpretations of the sacrament, peppered with feisty expressions of regional pride, is a potent symbol of the differences between Luther and Zwingli and the resulting schism in the Protestant movement.

The focus on Marburg is not entirely unwarranted. The failure of the two sides to come together at that table had enormous repercussions for the history of the Reformation, and, of course, it makes for a great story. As with most dramatic tales in history, however, it carries with it the danger of oversimplification. For many reasons—including Luther's own celebrity status—it is Luther's understanding (or misunderstanding) of Zwingli's theology that has left the strongest imprint on historical memory. Words such as "empty" and "memorialist," often used to describe Reformed understandings of the Eucharist, stem from Luther's highly negative caricatures of his opponents and do not accurately reflect Zwinglian

[1] Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New Haven, 1989), p. 237; see also Herman Sasse, *This Is My body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar*, rev. ed. (Adelaide, 1977), p. 196.

or later Reformed theology.[2] It is true that Zwingli and his followers interpreted the words "This is my body" figuratively (to mean "This *signifies* my body") and denied all possibility of a corporeal presence in the bread and the wine, but they never believed the Supper to be an "empty" ritual, devoid of emotional or spiritual impact.[3] Furthermore, by the end of his life, rather than simply focusing on what the eucharist was *not*—that is, it was *not* a physical eating of Christ's body that could convey grace to its recipients—Zwingli was moving towards a more positive notion of what it *was*—that is, a communal and spiritual eating of Christ that could strengthen faith. Zwingli's successor in Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger, continued along this trajectory after Zwingli's death.

Zwingli

Zwingli's eucharistic theology developed over time and can be divided into four phases. In the first phase, Zwingli's approach was similar to that of Erasmus. Before coming to Zurich in 1519, Zwingli, like Erasmus, stressed the communal nature of the sacrament and rejected Augustine's interpretation of John 6:53–56 ("unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you") as referring to corporeal eating. To Zwingli and Erasmus, this passage referred to spiritual eating.[4] In the second phase, 1522–1523, Zwingli was closest to Luther. He had moved beyond Erasmus's views by denying that the Mass was a sacrifice, rejecting transubstantiation, and supporting communion in both kinds. Zwingli focused on these issues in his lengthy explanation of article eighteen of his *Sixty-Seven Articles* (1523). He did employ the word "memorial" to describe the sacrament, but he declared that his use of the word was the same as Luther's "testament" or "covenant."[5] Zwingli claimed several

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[2] Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 71–72. For more on Luther's view of Zwingli, see Mark U. Edwards, *Luther and the False Brethren* (Stanford, CA, 1975), pp. 82–111, 185–96.

[3] I am following the lead of Amy Burnett in eschewing the phrase "real presence" in this essay—because both sides in this debate believed that their interpretation of the presence was "real"—and using the more concrete, simplified denotations "corporeal presence" and "spiritual presence," which were more often the terms they used. See Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas* (Oxford, 2011), p. 9.

[4] Ulrich Gäbler, *Ulrich Zwingli, His Life and Work*, trans. Ruth C.L. Gritsch (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 131.

[5] Huldrych Zwingli, "Explanation of the Sixty-Seven Articles," in *The Defense of the Reformed Faith*, ed. and trans. E.J. Furcha, vol. 1, *Huldrych Zwingli: Writings* (Allison Park, PA, 1984), pp. 92–124.

years later that he consciously evaded the issue of the corporeal presence in the articles in order to avoid causing an uproar and giving offense to Luther.[6]

The third phase of Zwingli's theological development was his most radical and is the one for which he is remembered. Sometime between the middle of 1523 and the summer of 1524, he adopted a purely symbolic understanding of the Eucharist, that is, he ceased to believe that Christ was present physically in the bread and the wine. As noted above, Zwingli hesitated at first to commit this view to writing or discuss it in public. He was most likely prompted to defend his view publicly after Andreas Karlstadt published several eucharistic pamphlets against Luther in 1524.[7] Thus, his writings between 1525 and 1529 do vigorously reject the corporeal presence of Christ in the elements.[8]

Central to the Zurich reformer's eucharistic theology was a figurative reading of Jesus's words in Matthew 26:26. For Zwingli, "This is my body" was intended to mean "This *signifies* my body." He may have arrived at this interpretation after reading Cornelius Hoen, an early sixteenth-century Dutch theologian whose writings circulated in Germany and Switzerland in the early 1520s.[9] Like Hoen, Zwingli supported this interpretation by pointing out many other places in the Gospels in which Christ spoke figuratively.[10] Similarly, in his German treatise, *On the Lord's Supper* (1526), Zwingli insisted that if Luther were right in his literal interpretation of the words of institution ("This *is* my body"), then communicants would see and taste real flesh. Furthermore, he argued, Luther's interpretation contradicted his own doctrine of consubstantiation—that the body and the blood are present within or among the elements of bread and wine.

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[6] Huldrych Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, ed. and trans. Samuel Macauley Jackson, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC, 1981), p. 198. This hesitation to give offence did not stop Zwingli from contesting the idea that he had come to his Evangelical opinions *via* Luther's writings. Article 18 contains a vehement defense by the Zuricher of his theological independence from the Wittenberg reformer.

[7] Burnett, *Karlstadt*, pp. 97–98.

[8] Walther Köhler, "Zur Abendmahlskontroverse in der Reformationszeit, inbesondere zur Entwicklung der Abendmahlslehre Zwinglis," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1928): 47–56.

[9] For Hoen's influence on Zwingli, see Heiko Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought* (New York, 1966), pp. 252–253; George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 86–89; Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 33–34; Emidio Campi and Ruedi Reich, eds., *Consensus Tigurinus: Die Einigung zwischen Heinrich Bullinger und Johannes Calvin über des Abendmahl, Werden—Wertung—Bedeutung* (Zurich, 2009), p. 10; and Burnett, *Karlstadt*, pp. 16–20, 83–86, 95–97.

[10] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, pp. 224–226.

For if consubstantiation were true and Christ's words described exactly what was present at the sacrament, the words in Matthew would have to be, "Take, eat, my body is eaten in the bread" or "This is my body under the bread."[11] At work here are two consistent themes in Zwingli's thought: figurative interpretation of scripture and a willingness to apply logic and reason to theological matters.[12]

The most important theme behind Zwingli's eucharistic theology, however, was his dualistic or transcendental view of God. Following Erasmus, he posed a sharp distinction between God and humanity, spirit and flesh. But unlike Erasmus, this led Zwingli to a radical new definition of the sacraments. In the *Commentary on True and False Religion* (1525), he defined a sacrament as an "initiatory ceremony or pledge," and he denied that the sacraments could convey grace.[13] The bread signified Christ's body sacrificed on the cross, but it was not the same as Christ's body, and it could not carry the salvation offered by that sacrifice. The baptismal water signified the Holy Spirit's cleansing of the soul's sins, but it did not accomplish that cleansing itself. Zwingli's stress here on the difference between the bread and the wine on the one hand and what they represent on the other—or what would come to be known as the "sign" and the "thing signified"[14]—stemmed from his transcendentalism. He rejected the idea that sensible objects could contain the divine, specifically, that bread, wine, or water could convey the Holy Spirit. In doing so, he rejected the medieval belief

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[11] Huldrych Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper," in *Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. and trans. G.W. Bromiley (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 191–192. The original title, *Ein klare underrichtung vom Nachtmal Christi*, would be more accurately translated as *A Clear Instruction on the Lord's Supper*.

[12] Zwingli provides several other examples of Christ speaking metaphorically in the New Testament, and he argues that if the apostles had actually been eating flesh at the Last Supper, they would have reacted with more excitement and horror than the Gospel writers indicate. See Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper," pp. 223, 227–228.

[13] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, p. 181: "So I am brought to see that a sacrament is nothing else than an initiatory ceremony or a pledging." See also Zwingli, *De vera et falsa religione commentaries*, in *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Emil Egli and Georg Finsler, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1914), p. 759: "Unde adducimur, ut sacramentum nihil aliud esse videamus, quam initiationem aut oppignorationem."

[14] Zwingli tended not to use the word "sign" (*signum*) for the bread and the wine, but he sometimes used "symbol" (*symbolum*). When he used the word "sign," it was usually to describe the entire sacrament, rather than just the bread and/or wine. Nevertheless, it appears in at least one passage of the *Commentary* that he thought the two words (sign and symbol) were virtually interchangeable. See Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, p. 229; and idem., *De vera et falsa religione commentarius*, p. 800. As will become clear below, it was Bullinger who used the phrase "sign and thing signified" much more frequently.

that the sacraments could cleanse the conscience of sin and even bring grace to a person, as well as Luther's argument for sacramental efficacy.[15]

For the Supper, specifically, Zwingli's symbolic interpretation hinged upon the words in John 6:63, "The flesh is of no avail."[16] In fact, he began his chapter on the Eucharist in the *Commentary on True and False Religion* with an explication of John 6:26–63, arguing that the "food" to which Christ referred in this chapter was the spiritual food of faith. His interpretation of this passage was influenced by his reading of Augustine and by his own dualism, and it is significant that he offered this analysis of John 6 *before* his interpretation of Matthew 26.[17] In this discourse on John 6 and the difference between the flesh and the spirit, Zwingli was preparing the groundwork for his figurative interpretation of Matthew 26:26. For example, he wrote:

> For things which are perceived when presented to the senses are things of sense. Let us see now how finely these things fit together: By faith we believe that the bodily and sensible flesh of Christ is here present. By faith things quite remote from sense are believed. But all bodily things are so entirely things of sense that unless they are perceived by sense they are not bodily. Therefore, to believe and to perceive by sense are essentially different . . . For body and spirit are such essentially different things that whichever one you take it cannot be the other.[18]

In his vernacular treatise, *On the Lord's Supper*, Zwingli expressed the strict divide between earthly and divine in a more vivid way: he found it repugnant to believe that the Lord Christ could be chewed and torn apart by filthy human teeth.[19]

Another argument Zwingli and his followers used against the Lutherans was that Christ's body could not be ubiquitous. Zwingli rejected the belief in *communicatio idiomatum*, the complete unity of Christ's divine and human natures. Only Christ's divine nature was ubiquitous; his human

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[15] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, pp. 179–183.

[16] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, pp. 206–210, 213–216.

[17] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, pp. 241–242, 246–247; Burnett, *Karlstadt*, p. 93.

[18] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, pp. 213–214. For an interesting new interpretation of Zwingli's eucharistic theology as being related to his understanding of matter, see Lee Palmer Wandel, "The Body of Christ at Marburg, 1529," in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Walter Melion and Reindert Falkenberg (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 195–213.

[19] Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper," pp. 223, 228.

nature was limited to its location at the right hand of God in heaven.[20] As he explained in *On the Lord's Supper*:

> Until the last day Christ cannot be anywhere but at the right hand of God the father. In Psalm 110 it is written: "Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." Paul refers to this text in I Corinthians 15 when he teaches that Christ will sit at the right hand of the Father until the last day. But if Christ is seated there, he is not present here. And if he were here, we could not speak of his return, for he would have returned already.[21]

The question of ubiquity was to become an important and tendentious issue between Reformed and Lutheran theologians in the later part of the century.

Also behind Zwingli's conception of the Supper was his emphasis on the communal and commemorative function of the sacraments. The word "commemoration" (*commemoratio*) appears over and over again in his writings on the sacrament, because for Zwingli, the sacrament was a reenactment of a historical event, Christ's final supper with his disciples. It was also a ritual that brought the Christian community together.

In the *Commentary on True and False Religion*, Zwingli drew an analogy between the many grains that make up a loaf of bread and the many members of the congregation. He declared, "Those who eat and drink at that board [table] become one body and one bread."[22] In 1525, the same year as the publication of the *Commentary*, he designed a vernacular liturgy for the celebration of communion, which was to take place four times a year—at Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, and Ember Days in autumn—after the regular sermon service. Gone were all forms of music, precious metal serving vessels, the use of communion wafers, and any reference to the sacrament as a sacrifice. The liturgy consisted of prayers, scripture readings—including John 6—and an explanation of the sacrament in which the pastor reminded the parishioners that it was a "remembrance in praise and thanksgiving." The ministers were then to pass unleavened bread and a cup of wine through the congregation, each person taking some for him or herself.[23] The central elements of this service—the simplicity of the

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[20] Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper," pp. 217–220; Gäbler, *Ulrich Zwingli*, p. 134.

[21] Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper," p. 216. Amy Burnett argues that Zwingli probably took the argument against ubiquity from Johannes Oecolampadius in Basel, who likely adopted it from the writings of the Bohemian Brethren. See Burnett, *Karlstadt*, pp. 86–87.

[22] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, p. 232.

[23] It appears as though Zwingli intended the congregation to be sitting when taking communion, but it is not clear how this worked logistically in the Zurich churches, which

wooden vessels, the unleavened bread, the minister facing the congregation when speaking the words of institution, and the laity passing the bread and cup amongst themselves—all served to emphasize the historical and commemorative nature of communion as a reenactment of the Last Supper, not Christ's death on the cross.[24] Celebrating it only four times a year was intended not only to distinguish Zurich's practice from those of the Catholics and Anabaptists, but also to reinforce the communal nature of the sacrament. (The more frequently it was celebrated, the less likely the entire community would participate each time.)

For Zwingli, communion was primarily an act of praise and thanksgiving, a communal commemoration of Christ's sacrifice.[25] But it is misleading to say that the Zurich reformer relegated the bread and the wine to the status of empty memorials, even in the years 1525–1529. For Zwingli, there was not only a physical similarity between the sign and the thing signified; there was also an emotional and spiritual connection. For the Jews, the Passover lamb did not represent merely the feast of Passover, but liberation from bondage, the actual passing over of the firstborn in Egypt the night before the exodus. Similarly, the Supper brought to Christians' minds their salvation through Christ.[26] As one historian of the Swiss Reformation explains,

> The receiving of the bread and wine was an act of faith which linked together the external world of the congregation with their inner belief in the saving power of Christ. Zwingli's liturgical drama was far more powerful than a mere act of memory; it was a profound and largely traditional expression of the command to imitate Christ.[27]

Zwingli's later writings provide even more examples of the connection between the sign and the thing signified, for in his fourth phase of theological development (1529–1531) he inclined towards accepting Christ's spiritual presence in the bread and the wine. Two writings in particular, his *Account of the Faith* (1530) and *An Exposition of the Faith* (1531), reveal that in the final years of his life, Zwingli made more positive statements

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may or may not have had pews in 1525. See *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals/ Gedechtnus/ oder Dancksagung Christi* (Zurich, 1525); Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, p. 67; and Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Social History of Communion and the Reformation of the Eucharist," *Past and Present* 211 (2011): 111–113.

[24] Lee Palmer Wandel, "Envisioning God: Image and Liturgy in Reformation Zurich," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 21–40.

[25] Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, p. 237.

[26] Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper," pp. 225–227.

[27] Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, p. 67.

about what the sacrament *was*, but he still placed great emphasis on what it was *not*.[28] In the *Account of Faith*, he expanded his definition of a sacrament beyond the simple "initiatory ceremony or pledge" of the *Commentary on True and False Religion*. A sacrament was three things: a sign of a holy or sacred thing, a visible form of invisible grace, and a public testimony.[29] Later in the treatise, Zwingli asserted that the body of Christ was present in the bread and the wine "in contemplation of faith," but he followed this statement with a list of many reasons why Christ's "natural body" was not present.[30]

Similarly, in *An Exposition of the Faith*, he elaborated on the concept of sacramental eating. Spiritual eating was "trusting with heart and soul upon the mercy and goodness of God through Christ." Christians could do this at any time. But eating Christ sacramentally, Zwingli wrote, was spiritual eating in conjunction with the communal celebration of the sacrament. At this time, "You do inwardly what you represent outwardly, your soul being strengthened by the faith which you attest in the tokens"[31] Here and in the *Account of the Faith*, Zwingli allowed that the sacrament could "strengthen" or "augment" faith, but he was adamant that it could not convey faith. Those who partook of the sacrament without faith did not eat spiritually or sacramentally.[32] In *An Exposition of the Faith* Zwingli made his oft-cited comparison between the sacramental symbols (bread and wine) and a betrothal ring. When a wife beholds the ring on her finger, he argued, she does not value it only for its gold substance, but her heart is warmed by the thought of her husband and her bond to him, of which the ring is a symbol.[33] Zwingli also continued in this period to emphasize the historical and communal aspects of communion. For example, in his description of the celebration of the Supper in *An Exposition of the Faith*, he wrote:

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[28] See Peter Stephens, "The Sacraments in the Confessions of 1536, 1549, and 1566—Bullinger's Understanding in the Light of Zwingli's," *Zwingliana* 33 (2006): 51–76.

[29] "An Account of the Faith of Zwingli," in Huldrych Zwingli, *On Providence and other Essays*, ed. and trans. William John Hinke (Durham, NC, 1983), p. 48. For the original Latin, see "Fidei ratio," in *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Emil Egli and Georg Finsler, vol. 6, pt. 2 (Zurich, 1968), p. 805.

[30] Zwingli, "An Account of the Faith of Zwingli," pp. 49–52.

[31] "An Exposition of the Faith," in *Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. and trans. G.W. Bromiley (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 259. The original Latin for "tokens" was *symbolis*. See Zwingli, "Christianae fidei brevis et clara expositio ad regem Christianum," in *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Emil Egli and Georg Finsler, vol. 6, pt. 5 (Zurich, 1991), p. 150.

[32] Zwingli, "An Exposition of the Faith," pp. 260–261.

[33] Zwingli, "An Exposition of the Faith," pp. 262–263.

> For it has already often been demonstrated that two people who had accidentally taken seats next to each other, but who had before felt enmity and hatred for each other, have laid aside their quarrel through this participation in the bread or wine.[34]

Zwingli and his followers remained at odds with the Lutherans. A spiritual and emotional presence for the faithful was far from a bodily presence for all, and Zwingli continued to reject Luther's understanding by asserting a strict divide between body and spirit and rejecting the ubiquity of Christ's body.[35] Luther lauded the news of Zwingli's death in battle in 1531, claiming that the "fanatic" had received what he deserved. Zwingli's death and the defeat of the Swiss Protestants at the hands of the Catholics strengthened the Lutheran side and left Zurich isolated theologically and politically. The eucharistic theology of Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's young successor in Zurich, must be viewed, at least in part, as the result of a very difficult, drawn-out balancing act between the preservation of Zwingli's legacy and the need to change and compromise in order to lift Zurich out of its theological isolation.

Bullinger

Recent studies of Heinrich Bullinger and his theology have emphasized Bullinger's theological independence from Zwingli and confirmed his status as a major theologian in his own right. Although he shared many of the same ideas as his predecessor, Bullinger came to these ideas independently and developed them with his own emphases.[36] In terms of the sacraments, Bullinger held a more positive view of the sacraments than Zwingli from the start. In fact, Bullinger's sacramental theology began—even in the early days of the 1520s—where Zwingli's left off in 1531, with

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[34] Zwingli, "Christianae fidei brevis et clara expositio," p. 102: "nam deprehensum est sepenumero, quod quidam, qui temere consederant, qui tamen simultates ac odia prius inter se exercuissent, ex hac participatione sive panis sive potus animi impotentiam deposuerunt." Bromiley does not include this section on the celebration of the Supper in his translation of "An Exposition of the Faith" because, at the time Bromiley translated, it was thought erroneously to have been added later by Bullinger. See the editors' introduction to the piece in *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 6, pt. 5, pp. 11–15.

[35] Zwingli, "A Exposition of the Faith," pp. 254–258; idem, "An Account of the Faith of Zwingli," pp. 51–53.

[36] Fritz Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575): Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, 2 vols. (Zurich, 2004); Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe: Eine Studie zu den 'Dekaden'* (Zurich, 2004); Campi and Reich, *Consensus Tigurinus*.

the notion of a spiritual presence of Christ in the bread and the wine. More important, Bullinger based his view of the sacraments on his theology of the covenant of grace between God and humanity and the unity of the covenants in the Old and New Testaments. Thus, he emphasized more than Zwingli the connection between the Old Testament rituals of Passover and circumcision and the New Testament sacraments of the Eucharist and baptism. As symbols of the covenant of grace, the sacraments held for Bullinger more redemptive significance than they did for Zwingli. The water, bread, and wine were signs and could not convey grace themselves, but as symbols of grace, they could strengthen faith.[37]

Nevertheless, for whatever reason—be it a sense of loyalty or genuine theological affinity—Bullinger did utilize much of Zwingli's language and conceptualization when writing about the Supper. He also spent a lot of time and energy defending his deceased predecessor against Lutheran accusations of heresy. Thus, Bullinger's eucharistic theology is best understood in the context of three priorities: the defense of Zwingli's reputation and the orthodoxy of the Zurich church, both of which required the refutation of any corporeal presence in the bread and the wine; the development of Bullinger's own, more positive, spiritual interpretation of the Supper; and the desire to forge a Reformed consensus on the Eucharist, especially through agreement with John Calvin. A closer look at two attempts at eucharistic concord—the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 and the *Consensus Tigurinus* (Zurich Agreement) of 1549—as well as several sermons Bullinger wrote on the sacraments, will demonstrate how these themes played out over the course of his long career.

In 1536, the Lutherans signed the Wittenberg Concord with the south-German churches, most of which had previously been allied with Zurich on the issue of the sacrament. It came about primarily because of Martin Bucer's tireless negotiations with the Lutherans.[38] Bucer, a leader of the Reformation in Strasbourg, felt strongly that the schism at Marburg could and should be repaired, and he served as a mediator between the two sides for years. Bullinger refused to participate in the discussions leading up to the Concord or to sign the resulting agreement because he held it to be a betrayal of his and Zwingli's theology. He objected to the words

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[37] Emidio Campi, "Consensus Tigurinus: Werden, Wertung und Wirkung," in *Consensus Tigurinus*, pp. 14–15. The words "sign" and "symbol" seem to have been used interchangeably by both Zwingli and Bullinger (see n. 14 above), but Bullinger tended to use "sign" more often to refer to the elements of bread and wine.

[38] On Martin Bucer, see Nicholas Thompson's contribution to this volume.

"substantially" and "exhibited" in the phrase, "the body and blood are truly and substantially present, exhibited, and received with the bread and wine."[39] Bullinger also refused to accept that the body and blood were received by worthy and unworthy alike. Bucer argued that the Latin word used in the Concord for unworthy, *indigni*, was not the same as *impii*, or those without faith, but Bullinger did not accept this distinction.[40] In the end, while Bucer and his supporters believed that the Concord was truly a compromise that did not concede entirely to Luther, in Bullinger's opinion, it conceded too much.

In the years following the Wittenberg Concord, Bullinger worked hard to defend the Zurich theological tradition against what he saw as unfair attacks by the Lutherans. In 1544, Luther published a book in which he condemned the writings of Zwingli, Johannes Oecolampadius, Andreas Karlstadt, and Caspar Schwenckfeld, calling them all fanatics (*Schwärmer*) and enemies of the sacrament.[41] In a letter to Philip of Hesse dated 12 March 1545, Bullinger asked the prince not to allow Zurich authors to be banned in his lands and pointed out that Luther's books were not condemned in Zurich. "We trust," he continued, "that through God and his pure, eternal truth, all faithful will see clearly that neither our church nor we are condemned people, as Luther would happily have all of Christendom imagine, God forgive him."[42] Bullinger continued in the following decade to respond to insults from Germany and to seek the support of Hesse. For example, he dedicated one of his vernacular writings, the *Summa Christenlicher Religion* (1556) (*Sum of the Christian Religion*), to Philip's son Wilhelm. In the dedication, he criticized those who were trying to confuse Christians with subtleties, probably a reference to Philipp Melanchthon's *variata* version of the Augsburg Confession or to the Wittenberg Concord.[43] He emphasized the beliefs he held in common with the Lutherans, including justification by faith and the importance of scripture, and he entreated Wilhelm to recognize that the book was a godly work of the true, Evangelical religion.[44]

By the time he wrote this dedication, Bullinger had already come to an agreement on the Lord's Supper with Calvin. The *Consensus Tigurinus* was

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[39] Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans: Martin Bucer and the Eucharistic Controversy in Bern," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005): 49.

[40] Burnett, "The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans," p. 50.

[41] Andreas Mühling, *Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern, 2001), p. 77.

[42] A manuscript copy of this letter lies in the Zurich Staatsarchiv, E II 337:366. The English is my own translation from a transcript given to me by Andreas Mühling.

[43] Heinrich Bullinger, *Summa Christenlicher Religion* (Zurich, 1556), sig. A2r–v.

[44] Bullinger, *Summa Christenlicher Religion*, sig. A2r–A4r.

formulated in May 1549, after much correspondence and several visits that Calvin made to Zurich between 1547 and 1549.[45] By this time, any hope of unity with the Lutherans had evaporated and the defeat of the League of Schmalkalden in Germany threatened the survival of the entire Reformation. Bullinger recognized the need to present a unified Swiss Reformed theology to the rest of Europe, which meant coming to some sort of agreement with Calvin.

The content of the *Consensus* reflects compromises on the part of both Calvin and Bullinger.[46] In the words of historian Peter Stephens, "It could be described as a Calvinian view expressed within the constraints imposed by Bullinger's theology or Bullinger's view stretched to embrace Calvin's."[47] Article seven, in particular, has been the subject of much scholarly scrutiny. On the one hand, because it refers to the sacraments as "seals" of faith and grace, it has been interpreted by some to be a concession that Bullinger made to Calvin. On the other hand, that sense of the sacraments as "seals" was closely linked in the *Consensus* to the sense that the sacraments remind participants of Christ's sacrifice, an idea not new to Bullinger:

> At the same time they recall to our remembrance the death of Christ and all his benefits, that faith may be better exercised, and also that what has been pronounced by the mouth of God may be confirmed and ratified as it were by seals.[48]

Similarly, article thirteen calls the sacraments "instruments" (*organa*), which is a word Bullinger had long resisted. Once again, however, the full quotation reveals a careful balance to accommodate Bullinger's concerns: "They are indeed instruments by which God acts efficaciously when he so

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[45] For a summary in English of the political and theological background to the agreement, see Gordon, "Calvin and the Swiss Reformed Churches," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1450–1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, et al. (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 71–74. For a more recent and extensive background in German, see Campi and Reich, *Consensus Tigurinus.* This volume also contains a modern English translation of the agreement itself, as well as newly edited and translated versions in Latin, German, French, and Italian.

[46] For Calvin's eucharistic theology, see Nicholas Wolterstorff's article in this volume.

[47] Stephens, "The Sacraments in the Confessions of 1536, 1549, and 1566," p. 67.

[48] Campi and Reich, *Consensus Tigurinus*, p. 261; original Latin: "dum nobis Christi mortem omniaque eius beneficia in memoriam revocant, ut fides magis exerceatur, deinde, quod ore dei pronunciatum erat, quasi sigillis confirmari et sanciri," ibid., p. 129. One scholar has recently argued that article 7 is very close in content to article 13 of the *Confessio Augustana* or Augsburg Confession. See Eberhard Busch, "Die Tragweite von Artikel 7 im Consensus Tigurinus," in *Consensus Tigurinus*, pp. 284–295.

pleases, yet in such a manner that the whole work of our salvation must be ascribed to him alone."[49]

In other articles of the *Consensus*, the influence of Bullinger's own theological priorities is clear. Article twelve asserts that the sacraments have no "intrinsic virtue," and that their power is derived from God alone.[50] Article seventeen explicitly denies that the sacraments can actually confer grace on the unfaithful: "While the signs are administered to the reprobate and the elect, the truth of the signs reaches only the latter."[51] Other concessions to Zurich theology are found in article twenty-one, which rejects the possibility of a local presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements; article twenty-two, which confirms the symbolic interpretation of the words "This is my body"; and article twenty-five, which denies the ubiquity of Christ's corporeal presence.

The *Consensus* was not a complete success. Although it became part of the official doctrine of the churches of Zurich and Geneva, it was not accepted by any of the other Protestant cities in Switzerland, so it did not succeed in forming a unified Swiss Reformed theology. That said, the agreement between Bullinger and Calvin, the two leaders of the Reformed tradition at the time, did strengthen the reputation and influence of that tradition elsewhere in Europe. In this document, Bullinger went further than Zwingli ever had in recognizing the presence and efficacy of Christ in the bread and the wine, but that presence was spiritual, not corporeal, and it could not convey grace.

During the time he was working with Calvin to produce the *Consensus Tigurinus*, Bullinger was also writing the *Decades*, a collection of fifty sermons divided into five volumes and published between 1549 and 1551. According to Bullinger, the sermons "comprehended the whole matter of faith, godliness or true religion, and also the church." Although he wrote in Latin for a clerical audience, the *Decades* received wide publication

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[49] Campi and Reich, *Consensus Tigurinus*, p. 262; original Latin: "Organa quidem sunt, quibus efficaciter, ubi visum est, agit deus, sed ita, ut otum salutis nostrae opus ipsi uni acceptum ferri debeat," ibid., p. 132.

[50] Campi and Reich, *Consensus Tigurinus*, p. 262; original Latin: "Praeterea si quid boni nobis per sacramenta confertur, id non fit propria eorum virtute . . .," ibid., p. 131.

[51] Campi and Reich, *Consensus Tigurinus*, p. 262; original Latin: "Nam reprobis peraeque ut electis signa administrantur, veritas autem signorum ad hos solos pervenit," ibid., p. 134. By using the terms "reprobate" and "elect," Calvin and Bullinger avoided the confusion over *indigni* vs. *impii* that had been a sticking point for Bullinger in the fight over the Wittenberg Concord.

in German and several other European languages, including English.[52] Bullinger left his treatment of the sacraments until the fifth and final decade, which was published in 1551. One reason may be that he did not want to jeopardize negotiations on the *Consensus* with Calvin. He also may have (mistakenly) hoped that Luther's death in 1546 would result in a more tolerant attitude towards Zurich among the Lutherans. One piece of evidence to support this interpretation is a Latin treatise on the sacraments Bullinger wrote in 1546—largely as a personal document to be sent to Calvin in anticipation of their negotiations—but decided not to publish after hearing of Luther's death. Five years later, however, when the *Consensus Tigurinus* was finalized, and it was clear that the Lutherans were not going to change their stance towards Zurich, Bullinger decided to publish a revised version of this treatise as sermons six and seven of the fifth decade.[53] Sermon six is on the nature of sacramental signs; sermon seven is on the virtues of the sacraments; and a new sermon, nine, is on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper itself.

These sermons contain many examples of the same balancing act evident in the *Consensus*. Bullinger was clearly aiming to dispel any claims for a corporeal presence in the bread and the wine, while simultaneously discussing the sacrament in a more positive light and admitting a "spiritual" presence. In sermon nine, dedicated entirely to the subject of the Lord's Supper, he repeated and expanded (with more examples) Zwingli's arguments about the figurative interpretation of the words "This is my body"; denied the ubiquity of Christ's body; and declared that "unbelievers" (*increduli*) did not receive or partake of Christ in the sacrament.[54] However, he also employed the phrase "spiritual food" (*epulo spirituali*) when discussing communion and made many positive statements about

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[52] Heinrich Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, trans. H.I., ed. Thomas Harding, 5 vols. (vols. 1–2 bound together) (Cambridge, 1849–1852). The quotation is from vol. 5, p. 526. The Latin edition of all fifty sermons together was published by Christoph Froschauer in 1552, under the title, *Sermonum Decades quinque: De potissimis Christianae religionis capitibus, in tres tomos digestae*. Several more Latin editions followed, while the first German edition emerged from Froschauer's press in 1558. In cases where the original Latin wording is given to clarify meaning, it is taken from the 1552 Froschauer edition.

[53] The original treatise, entitled *Absoluta de christi domini et catholicae eius Ecclesiae Sacramentis, tractatio* ("Complete Treatise on the Sacraments of the Lord Christ and his Catholic Church"), was published in England (without Bullinger's express consent) in 1551. See Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531–1558* (Zurich, 2006), p. 184.

[54] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 435–466; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 367r–374v.

the sacrament.[55] We can see here, for example, Bullinger's balancing of the negative—what the sacrament was *not*—with positive statements about what it *was:*

> For I am flat against that bodily presence of Christ in the bread, which the papists defend and enforce upon the church of God. But I confess and acknowledge with open mouth and sincere heart that spiritual, divine, and quickening presence of our Lord Christ, both in the supper and also out of the supper.[56]

At times, he described the sacrament in an entirely positive manner. For example, he argued,

> Therefore, as we are not void and without Christ before the supper, but are quickened by him and made his members or partners; so that in the very action of celebration of the supper the promise is renewed unto us, and we renew and continue that fellowship which we have in Christ by the body and blood of Christ spiritually, truly participating in his life and all good gifts through faith. And by this means we eat the Lord's body, and drink his blood.[57]

Sermons six and seven of the fifth decade, on sacramental theology in general, reveal this same dynamic at work. When defining the word "sacrament," Bullinger referred to Zwingli's definitions of "a sign of a holy thing" and "visible sign of invisible grace," but he went on to provide his own, more extended definition. Sacraments, for Bullinger, were

> holy actions, consisting of words or promises of the gospel, or of prescript rites or ceremonies, given for this end to the church of God from heaven, to be witnesses and seals of the preaching of the gospel, to exercise and try faith, and by earthly and visible things to represent and set before our eyes the deep mysteries of God.[58]

For Bullinger, as for Zwingli, the precise relationship between the "sign" and the "thing signified" was a fundamental issue. The two parts of the

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[55] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 401; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 359v.

[56] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 452; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 371r.

[57] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 434; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 367r.

[58] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 234. Because Bullinger's precise language is important, here is the entire quotation in Latin: "Sacramenta sunt actiones sacrae, verbis sive promissionibus evangelicis & ritibus praescriptis constants: ecclesiae divinitus in hoc traditae, ut evangelicam praedicationem attestentur atque obsignent, fidem exerceant, rebusq[ue] terrenis & visibilibus magna dei mysteria repreaesentent, & ob ovulos statuant, deniq[ue] ut ecclesiam visibiliter colligant, suiq[ue] moneant officii," *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 323v.

sacrament retained their distinct natures, "without communicating or mingling of properties."[59] This was particularly important; it meant that the unfaithful could not receive the full sacrament, for "many be partakers of the sign, and yet are barred from the thing signified."[60] A marginal note on the next page makes Bullinger's point abundantly clear: "The wicked [*impios*] are not partakers of the thing signified in the sacraments."[61] Nevertheless, Bullinger admitted in the next section of the sermon that the sign and the thing signified are also "joined together and not divided . . . [to] make one perfect and lawful sacrament."[62] This wording can also be found in Bullinger's 1546 treatise on the sacraments, *Absoluta de christi domini et catholicae eius Ecclesiae Sacramentis, tractatio*, which he wrote three years before signing the *Consensus Tigurinus*.[63] What has been viewed by historians as a concession to Calvin in article nine of the *Consensus*—which says that the sign and the thing signified are distinguished but not separated—may not have been such a concession after all. By 1546, if not earlier, Bullinger was ready to admit a strong sacramental connection between the sign and the thing signified.[64]

A comparison between the earlier treatise and the *Decades* on the issue of sacramental efficacy is also instructive. In the *Absoluta . . . tractatio*, he criticized "common priests and monks" for teaching that sacraments are "causes" of grace, "instruments and funnels of Christ's passion, by which the grace of Christ is conveyed in us."[65] In both the *Absoluta . . . tractatio* and the *Decades*, Bullinger strongly refuted this doctrine, arguing in the following pages that the sacraments could not confer grace, but he never directly denied that the sacraments might be instruments through which God worked, which is what he had agreed to in the *Consensus*.[66] Nevertheless, there is one section from the 1546 treatise that is missing

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[59] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 270; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 331r.

[60] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 270; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 331r.

[61] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 271; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 331v.

[62] Bullinger, *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 278; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 333r.

[63] Bullinger, *Absoluta . . . tractatio*, fol. 42r. For details about this treatise, see above, n. 51.

[64] For this older interpretation, see Stephens, "The Sacraments in the Confessions of 1536, 1549, and 1566."

[65] *Absoluta . . . tractatio*, fol. 55r–v: "Docuit vulgus sacerdotum & monachorum sacramenta novae legis non tantum esse signa gratiae, sed simul etiam gratiae caussas, hoc est quae habeant virtutem conferendi gratiam. Esse enim illa ceu sacramenta, organa & infundibula quaedam passionis CHRISTI, per quae in nos gratia CHRISTI transfundantur."

[66] *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 5: 296–307; *Sermonum Decades Quinque*, fol. 337r–339r. In the *Decades*, the only change to this passage was the replacement of *sacramenta* with *instrumenta* thus: "Esse enim illa ceu instrumenta, organa & infundibula," ibid., 337r. This

from the *Decades*, the chapter in which Bullinger asserted that the sacraments did not "exhibit" what they signify ("Sacramenta non exhibere quae significant").[67] It is possible that the removal of this section from the *Decades* was an attempt to refrain from causing offense, since Bullinger's rejection of the word "exhibere" had been a source of disagreement in the past.[68]

Most historians agree that the most mature expression of Bullinger's theology can be found in the *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566). It is, therefore, fitting to end a discussion of the Zurich reformer's eucharistic theology with a consideration of that Confession, which became a very important confessional document for Reformed churches around the world. In it, Bullinger once again balanced Zwingli's rejection of a corporeal presence with a positive, spiritual interpretation of the sacrament. The following passage is very similar in tone and content to the *Consensus Tigurinus*:

> Therefore the faithful do receive that which is given by the ministers of the Lord, and do eat the bread of the Lord, and do drink of the Lord's cup. And at the same time inwardly, by the working of Christ through the Holy Spirit, they receive also the flesh and blood of the Lord, and do feed on them unto life eternal.[69]

It is difficult to imagine Zwingli ever composing these sentences. And yet, two paragraphs later, Bullinger listed the three different types of eating—corporeal, spiritual, and sacramental—just as Zwingli did in his *Exposition of Faith* (1531). With regard to corporeal eating, he declared "For neither did godly antiquity believe, neither yet do we believe, that the body of Christ can be eaten corporeally and essentially, with a bodily mouth."[70] To support his distinction among the three kinds of eating, Bullinger referred repeatedly to various verses from John 6. Zurich theology had come a long way since the Colloquy at Marburg, but the passage that was supposed to break Luther's neck had endured.

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is puzzling, since the word that Bullinger had agreed to in the *Consensus* was *organa*, which was already in the *Absolutio* and was not changed.

[67] Bullinger, *Absoluta . . . tractatio*, fol. 68r–81v. The verb in the title of the chapter is indeed *exhibere*, not *exhibent*, as one would expect.

[68] See above, p. 67.

[69] Heinrich Bullinger, "The Second Helvetic Confession," in *The Creeds of Christendom*, ed. and trans. Philip Schaff, 4th ed. (New York, 1877), p. 892.

[70] Bullinger, "The Second Helvetic Confession," p. 892.

Conclusion

The idea that Zurich eucharistic theology was entirely negative—that is, defined by what the sacrament was *not*—stems from a misinterpretation of the sources. While both Zwingli and Bullinger were adamant that there could be no corporeal presence of Christ in the bread and the wine and that the sacrament could not convey grace, they both argued that the Lord's Supper had significant communal and commemorative roles in the life of the church, and that Christ was present spiritually in the bread and the wine. In his later writings, Zwingli was willing to admit that this spiritual presence could augment faith, something that Bullinger agreed with and expanded upon in his writings. Moreover, this new Reformed theology of the Eucharist did not develop out of any simple desire to reject or rebel against Catholic and Lutheran sacramental theology, but out of Zwingli's and Bullinger's profound contemplation of the differences between body and spirit, the nature of God's powers, and the relationship between God and humanity.

MARTIN BUCER

Nicholas Thompson

Introduction

Martin Bucer (1491–1551) almost inevitably features in the *dramatis personae* of Reformation debates on the Eucharist. His role in the Eucharistic Controversy of 1524–1536 and the attempt to mend this breach in the Wittenberg Concord has received extensive scholarly coverage. Less well recognized is his attempt to reunite the Protestant and Catholic estates of Germany in a single church, with a eucharistic theology rooted in scripture and tradition.[1] Despite this, it would be wrong to view Bucer as an "ecumenist" in the modern sense of that word. It would be wrong, too, to imagine that his eucharistic theology lacked its own integrity.

Although Bucer's eucharistic theology, like Martin Luther's,[2] changed over the course of his lifetime, we can nevertheless identify themes that remained consistent throughout the development of his career as a reformer. One was his insistence on a sharp distinction between the spiritual and material dimensions of the sacrament. He excluded any suggestion that material elements could be said to "contain" or "cause" spiritual realities, even if they could be said to "exhibit" the spiritual union between Christ and his members, effected through faith. His eucharistic thought also emphasized the ethical implications of the sacrament: the eucharistic memorial, and the ever-deepening indwelling of Christ which it exhibited, must bear fruit in works of love for God and neighbor.

Nevertheless, Bucer did not regard the Eucharist as a central article of Christian faith. Thus he did not require his theological counterparts to agree with him on the finer details of sacramental theology, provided that they were united on the "chief article," the doctrine of justification.

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[1] Here I have used the labels that the Reformation parties used for themselves. Those who were generally supportive of Luther's protest are described as "Evangelicals;" those who regretted his break with received tradition are described as "Catholic." "Protestant" describes the political resistance to Charles V's attempts to check Evangelical reform.

[2] On Martin Luther's eucharistic theology, see Volker Leppin's contribution to this volume.

For Bucer this meant not only God's forensic justification of undeserving sinners, but also their growth in love of God and neighbor.[3] The resulting "edification" of a community in love meant that a genuinely *catholic* church must tolerate the weakness of those who had saving faith in Christ, but had not come to a fuller knowledge of the truth revealed in scripture. This might mean bearing with potentially ambiguous formulations of eucharistic doctrine, or even permitting a degree of liturgical conservatism, provided that the chief article of justification remained inviolate. However, when Bucer thought that the chief article was threatened, he could be as strident and determined as Luther in denouncing the errors, idolatry and blasphemies of his opponents.

Bucer's Early Eucharistic Theology, 1518–1524

We can only speculate about Bucer's eucharistic theology prior to his excommunication for adherence to the Evangelical movement in 1523.[4] In a list of books in Bucer's possession in 1518, the only specifically eucharistic work is Cardinal Bessarion's *Discourse on the Sacrament of the Eucharist* (printed 1513), which sought to explain the Latin doctrine of the Eucharist in terms acceptable to Greeks.[5] Although Bucer's later eucharistic thought acknowledged a considerable debt to the Greek fathers, there is no direct evidence that Bessarion had any bearing on this. In broad terms, the book list is evidence of a Dominican scholastic education heavily inflected by Christian Humanism. Erasmus's emphasis on the ethical consequences of contemplating Christ's death does seem to have influenced Bucer's eucharistic theology.[6] However, in the longer run, Bucer's eucharistic thought

[3] For Bucer's doctrine of justification, see Brian Lugioyo, *Martin Bucer's Doctrine of Justification: Reformation Theology and Early Modern Eirenicism* (Oxford, 2010).

[4] See Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times,* trans. Stephen Buckwalter (Louisville, 2004), p. 44.

[5] See *Correspondance de Martin Bucer,* vol. 1—(Leiden, 1978–), 1: 42–8, hereafter BCor.

[6] Walther Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther: Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religösen Beziehungen,* 2 vols. (Gütersloh, 1953; repr. New York, 1971), 1:212; Friedhelm Krüger, *Bucer und Erasmus: Eine Untersuchung zum Einfluß des Erasmus auf die Theologie Martin Bucers (bis zum Evangelien-Kommentar von 1530)* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 199; W.I.P. (Ian) Hazlett, "The Development of Martin Bucer's Thinking on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in its Historical and Theological Context, 1523–1534," (PhD diss., University of Münster, 1975), pp. 54–55, 94; Nicholas Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Patristic Tradition in the Theology of Martin Bucer, 1534–1546* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 94–95.

owed more to Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, and Johannes Oecolampadius, than to his training as a Humanist friar.[7]

Bucer's earliest writing on the Eucharist concentrated on defending Evangelical doctrine against Catholic censure, and largely echoed themes found in Luther's eucharistic works of 1519 and 1523.[8] Some commentators find hints of Bucer's later divergences from Luther here—for example, Bucer's stress on the distinction between eucharistic sign and signified, or his deprecation of "fleshly" feeding[9]—but similar concerns can be found in Luther's writings of this period.[10] One should thus avoid the temptation to back project the battle lines of the Eucharistic Controversy into a period during which neither Luther nor Bucer had been required to define their theologies to such a degree.

The Eucharistic Controversy, 1524–1529

Towards the end of 1524, Bucer's assumptions about Jesus's bodily presence were shaken by the arrival in Strasbourg of tracts by Andreas Karlstadt, and the visit of Hinne Rode, bearing a letter from Cornelius Hoen.[11] According to Bucer, it was Rode, in particular, who had forced him to "give up the fleshly presence of Christ in the bread."[12] However, the initial response of the Strasbourg ministers, including Bucer, was to downplay any doctrinal differences in the Evangelical camp. Apart from any theological uncertainty, their stance evinced a desire to ensure that Evangelical reform was not discredited in the eyes of conservative elements in

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[7] On Zwingli's eucharistic theology, see Carrie Euler's contribution to this volume.

[8] See Hazlett, "Development," pp. 39–69, 83; Thomas Kaufmann, *Die Abendmahlstheologie der Straßburger Reformatoren bis 1528* (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 86–87, 90–94. The works in which Bucer addresses eucharistic themes are: *Summary* (1523), *Handel mit Treger* (1524), and *De caena dominica* (1524). See, respectively, *Martin Bucer's Deutsche Schriften*, vol. 1—(Gütersloh, 1960–), 1: 115–125; 2: 103–111, hereafter BDS; *Martini Buceri opera latina*, vol. 1—(Leiden, 1982), hereafter BOL.

[9] E.g., Krüger, *Bucer und Erasmus*, p. 193; Peter Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 240.

[10] Hazlett, "Development," p. 63.

[11] BCor 1:281–284, 290; Hazlett, "Development," pp. 70ff.; Kaufmann, *Die Abendmahlstheologie*, pp. 181ff.; Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford, 2011), pp. 102, 145.

[12] BCor 2:53; B. Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen (Honius) and His Epistle on the Eucharist (1525): Medieval Heresy, Erasmian Humanism and Reform in the Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 211–215.

the city.[13] In a letter to Luther on the confusion created by Karlstadt's views, Bucer noted that the Strasbourg preachers preferred to teach "why one eats and drinks, rather than whatever it may be that one eats and drinks."[14] In other words, the fruits of faithful commemoration of Jesus' sacrificial death were more important to Bucer than the precise relationship between Jesus' body and blood and the sacramental elements. Moreover, Bucer had every reason to think that Luther, too, was relatively indifferent on this point.[15]

By the end of 1524, Bucer's agnosticism moved closer to outright denial of Jesus' bodily (*leiplich*) presence. On December 31, 1524 the Strasbourg pastors submitted a program for reform entitled *The Basis and Cause in Divine Scripture for the Innovations in the Lord's Supper, Commonly Called the Mass.* Bucer wrote the eucharistic section. Explaining why the elevation of the host had been abolished in the new order of the Lord's Supper, Bucer argued that it had encouraged the "weak" to worship the bread as if Christ were bodily present. Citing 2 Corinthians 5:16 and John 6:63, he argued that such a bodily presence was of no avail. He acknowledged that God was everywhere, but God and Christ were only present in a *saving manner* through true faith.[16] It should be noted that these remarks occupy a small portion of the total commentary on the Lord's Supper in *The Basis and Cause*; most of it was concerned with refuting the claim that the Eucharist was instituted as a sacrifice. To that extent, *The Basis and Cause* still reflected the Evangelical consensus far more than it prefigured the coming schism.

The year 1525, however, saw a decisive shift in Bucer's thought. As his colleague Wolfgang Capito noted in a letter to Zwingli on December 31, 1524, Bucer now conceded to Zwingli's position "with hands and feet."[17] Nevertheless, while Bucer expressed unequivocal support for Zwingli and Oecolampadius in private correspondence,[18] the Strasbourg preachers publicly professed their conviction that the two sides were fundamentally united, despite their verbal disagreement.[19] Thomas Kaufmann sees this as an indication of Bucer's bad faith. He alleges that in 1525 Bucer

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[13] Kaufmann, *Die Abendmahlstheologie*, pp. 190ff.
[14] BCor 1:291.
[15] Hazlett, "Development," p. 83.
[16] BDS 1:228.
[17] *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, Zwinglis Briefwechsel, 2, Corpus Reformatorum, 95, (Leipzig, 1914), 8: 279.
[18] E.g., his letter to Jacob Otter, in BDS 3:409–420.
[19] E.g., Bucer's and Capito's letter to the Lords of Gemmingen, in BCor 2:82.

and Capito published a pseudonymous attack on the eucharistic theology of Luther's colleague Johannes Bugenhagen at about the same time that Bucer was penning an irenic *Instruction* for transmission to Wittenberg.[20] In 1526, Bucer drew the ire of Wittenberg after he published a German translation of Bugenhagen's *Interpretation on the Book of Psalms* (1524).[21] Bugenhagen had invited Bucer to do this, and, what is more, had given Bucer permission to modify the work as he saw fit.[22] Bucer took Bugenhagen at his word and expanded a gloss on Psalm 111:5, which emphasized faithful eating, while appearing to minimize the outward sacrament by describing it as a sign of this.[23] Bucer elaborated by stressing the commemorative and kerygmatic function of the sacraments, and concluded that "fleshly eating can be of no avail, and for this reason disputation or preaching about the fleshly presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread does not suit an Evangelical, who wishes to be a minister of the Spirit and teach nothing but what makes us godly."[24] In the ensuing controversy, Bucer protested that he had not been aware of Bugenhagen's literary attack on Karlstadt and Zwingli when he translated the commentary, and had merely elaborated on what he thought Bugenhagen actually believed. Köhler and Hazlett take Bucer's word for this.[25] Kaufmann, however, thinks that Bucer was lying,[26] because, as noted above, he believes that Bucer had already attacked Bugenhagen pseudonymously. Later Bucer scholars have treated this allegation with reserve.[27] Whatever the case, beginning in mid-1526, in the wake of the Bugenhagen affair, Bucer's opposition to Wittenberg was forced into the open, and he was compelled to defend his conduct.[28]

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[20] Kaufmann, *Die Abendmahlstheologie*, pp. 333ff. The pamphlet was entitled: Konrad Ryss zu Ofen, *Antwort dem hochgelehrten Doktor Johan. Bugenhagen auf die Missive, so er an den hochgelehrten Doktor Hesso geschickt* (Strasbourg, 1525) against Bugenhagen's *Contra novum errorem de sacramento . . .* (Augsburg, 1525).

[21] Bucer, *Psalter wol verteutscht auß der heyligen sprach . . .* (Basel, 1526). See Gottfried Seebass, et al. eds., *Martin Bucer (1491–1551): Bibliographie* (Gütersloh, 2005), no. 18, hereafter *Bibliographie.*

[22] BCor 2:10.

[23] BDS 2:267, n. 12.

[24] Bucer, *Psalter,* 164rA.

[25] Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther*, 1: 365–366; Hazlett, "Development," pp. 151–152.

[26] Kaufmann, *Die Abendmahlstheologie*, p. 310.

[27] Greschat, *Martin Bucer*, pp. 258–259; Burnett, *Karlstadt*, p. 102.

[28] Principally in *Apologia Martini Buceri* (Strasbourg, 1526) [*Bibliographie,* no. 21]; *Praefatio M. Buceri in quartum Postillae Lutheranae* (1527), in BCor 2:104–107; *Das Martin Butzer sich in verteütschung des Psalters . . . getrewlich vnd christlich gehalten* (1527), in BDS 2:264–275.

From 1527, Bucer began to develop a public theology of the Eucharist through the vehicle of his scriptural commentaries.[29] The most distinctive aspect of Bucer's eucharistic exegesis was that he read John 6 as a discourse on the Eucharist. Even though Zwingli used John 6:63 to confine the reality of Jesus' flesh to history and its present seat at God's right hand, both Zwingli and Luther denied that John 6 had a specific bearing on the Eucharist.[30] Even in 1527 Bucer expressed a concern that Zwingli might attribute too little to the role of Jesus's humanity in the sacrament. If John 6:55 had said that Jesus' flesh was "truly" food (*caro mea vere est cibus*), it must mean that God used it to feed our soul. As yet, Bucer seems to have been content to understand this feeding in terms of contemplation of Christ's sacrificial death, whereby the Spirit renewed faith.[31] Bucer's growing emphasis on this point eventually alienated Zwingli.

Bucer was not yet speaking in terms of Christ's spiritual union with believers or his presence among them, nor did he claim that the sacrament was in any way an instrument of that feeding. In his 1527 Commentary on Ephesians he opposed those who, like Luther, made the sacraments, "vehicles of the Holy Spirit and of faith, when it is only the benevolence of God, won through the death of Christ, which grants these."[32] Moreover, even if Christ could be said to be everywhere insofar as God was everywhere, his body was not everywhere—only his divinity, his power, and his kindness.[33] Nevertheless, in his 1527 Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels, Bucer compared the sacrament to the relationship between Christ's breath and the imparting of the Holy Spirit (cf. John 20:22) or that between legal contracts and the tokens accompanying them. The Eucharist was "the bestowal (*donatio*) of a spiritual reality, represented (*exhibita*) under physical signs."[34] Here the external ritual displayed or represented a spiritual interaction between God and faithful communicants. Over time, however, representation (*exhibitio*) would take on a

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[29] *Ennarationum in evangelion Mathaei, Marci et Lucae* (1527) [*Bibliographie,* no. 22]; *Epistola D. Pauli ad Ephesios* (1527) [*Bibliographie,* no. 25]; *Enarratio in evangelion Iohannis* (1528) in BOL 5:264: "Ii et vere carnem Domini edunt… quia, vere credentes iis sese redemptos, animis reficiuntur ac ita fide confortantur."

[30] Hazlett, "Development," pp. 188-190, and idem, "Zur Auslegung von Johannes 6 bei Bucer während der Abendmahlskontroverse," in *Bucer und seine Zeit: Forschungsbeiträge und Bibliographie*, ed. M. De Kroon and F. Krüger (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 74–87.

[31] See e.g. Bucer to Oecolampadius, 11 May 1527, in BCor 3:64; *In evangelion Iohannis* in BOL 5:264.

[32] Bucer, *Epistola ad Ephesios*…, A4r–v.

[33] Bucer, *Epistola ad Ephesios*…, 42r–43r.

[34] *Enarrationum in evangelii* (Strasbourg, 1527) [*Bibliographie,* 22], 333v.

more instrumental sense in Bucer's thought. In other words, Bucer eventually conceded that, while the sacraments did not cause God's action (let alone compel it), God used them as means to impart spiritual blessings to his elect in most, though not all, cases.

We see the beginning of a gradual turn towards this stronger sense of *exhibitio* in the 1528 Commentary on John. On the one hand, Bucer continued to attack those who made the sacrament "an instrument and means of grace."[35] He also rejected the characteristic Lutheran notion that faith came through hearing the word.[36] And yet, God "cooperated" with the ministers of the Word, persuading the soul and bestowing what they "propose and represent" through the sacraments, so that the signification of the preached word and sacraments was "effective and fruitful." To this extent the sacramental signs were not empty, "but true and profitable signs."[37] In other words, provided that word and sacrament were not understood to insert the precondition of a human work between God and justification, Bucer was prepared to attribute a kind of efficacy to their celebration.

The publication of Luther's *Confession on Christ's Supper* in 1528 led to a further shift in Bucer's understanding of Luther's eucharistic theology and seemed to indicate a way towards rapprochement. Luther continued to maintain that the body of Christ present in the Supper was the same body "given for us" on the cross. However, it was "not the same in species or mode, but only in nature and substance."[38] Moreover, Jesus's presence in the elements was not to be conceived in any natural manner (e.g. as straw in a sack).[39] Rather, the substance of Jesus's body was everywhere his divinity was, and while the substance of Jesus's body remained distinct from the sacramental elements, the Lord's Supper connected them in a "sacramental union."[40]

Despite the combative tone of Luther's *Confession*, Bucer was reassured that Luther did not at least understand the Eucharistic presence in the crudely materialist way he had thought was implied by Luther's use of

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[35] BOL 5:267.

[36] BOL 5:267–268.

[37] BOL 5:269: "Nos libenter verbum quod nos loquimur et sacramentum quod nos exhibemus, nihil nisi evanidum signum esse fatemur, si non cooperetur Deus, id est animo persuadeat et donet quae nos ex ipsis verbis proponimus et sacramentis representamus."

[38] Martin Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar, 1883–), 26: 299, hereafter WA.

[39] WA 26:339.

[40] WA 26:446.

"bodily" (*corporaliter/leiblich*) to describe Jesus's presence. Bucer also felt that Luther's clarification had exposed the futility of "bodily" as a term.[41] Yet he was still keenly aware that, however the Wittenbergers understood Jesus's presence, they meant that Jesus was present, "even to the ungodly." As he wrote to Zwingli, "even we admit that Christ is present to the godly and is eaten by them, but by faith, and the bread is only called the body of Christ sacramentally."[42] Bucer voiced these continuing objections in the dialogue *The Compromise of Dr Luther and His Party on Christ's Supper* (1528) even as he tried to persuade his audience that Luther agreed with the Strasbourg preachers in the *Hauptsumm* (in respect of what was most important).[43] Luther responded with contempt.[44]

Although Bucer attended the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529, he ended up playing a minor role in the discussions there. A letter to the Marburg Academy on March 20, 1530 gives us a sense of how he understood the colloquy's failure to reach agreement on the Supper.[45] On his own side he explicitly included, "our dearest fellow ministers and brothers Zwingli and Oecolampadius."[46] For them, Wittenberg's "bodily eating" of Christ compromised belief in the Incarnation, the hope of resurrection, and the purpose of the whole New Testament.[47] Yet Bucer finally minimized these differences. Both sides believed that the words of Christ in the Supper could not be interpreted straightforwardly; there was some trope there. Both agreed that, whatever it meant to feed on Christ to eternal life, only spiritual feeding by faith brought salvation. However erroneous their doctrine, Luther's side belonged to Christ, for they depended entirely and undoubtingly on Christ's words and took seriously their duty to love their neighbor.[48] Again, it may be tempting to regard this as little more than a ploy, allowing Bucer and his party to claim the moral high ground of the peacemaker, and thereby exposing the truculence of the Wittenbergers. However, Bucer's letter devoted inordinate space to developing an ecclesiology within which even major doctrinal differences could be

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[41] BCor 3:138–139.

[42] BCor 3:122–123.

[43] See BDS 2:308, esp. ibid., 325–332, 333, 355, 361.

[44] Martin Luther to Nicolaus Gerbel, 28 July 1528, in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Briefwechsel*, 18 vols. (Weimar, 1930–1985), 4: 508.

[45] See BCor 4:37–67, a longer draft of the preface to *Enarrationes perpetuae in sacra quatuor evangelia* . . . (Strasbourg, 1530) [*Bibliographie,* no. 39], A2r–A9r.

[46] BCor 4:57.

[47] BCor 4:51.

[48] BCor 4:50–51.

accommodated, provided that there was evidence of faith in Christ and love on both sides. It seems more likely, then, that Bucer and Luther were talking past each other. For Luther, everything depended on whether or not his opponents would submit to the plain sense of "this is my body." For Bucer, everything depended on whether or not his opponents manifested the fruits of the Spirit (however imperfectly) through their submission to Christ's word and adherence to the "duty of love."

Concord, 1530–1536

Bucer's work for Evangelical unity was rewarded with success on May 28, 1536, when Luther and other representatives of Wittenberg signed a formula of concord on the Eucharist and Baptism with representatives of Strasbourg and other Protestant cities of southwestern Germany.[49] However, this success was not unalloyed. When Zwingli died in October 1531, his relationship with Bucer had been gravely compromised. The Swiss remained aloof and mistrustful, despite Bucer's continuing diplomacy. Even among the southern Germans, Bucer had to work hard to secure the acceptance of the Wittenberg Concord.

There is no room here for an account of the complex series of letters, tracts, meetings, and political negotiations that led to concord. However, a few important factors in its attainment are worth noting. First, the threat of imperial military action against the Protestants lent urgency to Bucer's efforts. Second, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, Bucer and Philipp Melanchthon established a relationship of trust. This was assisted by their shared esteem for Oecolampadius's tract, *A Dialogue on What the Ancients Thought about the Eucharist* (1530), which convinced Melanchthon of the need for a more nuanced account of the relationship between the eucharistic elements and Jesus' presence.[50] Oecolampadius's reading of the fathers in *On the Genuine Meaning of the Words "This is My Body"* (1525) had convinced Bucer that the words of the Last Supper should be interpreted symbolically.[51] Now the patristic citations in the *Dialogue* began to convince Bucer that one could speak of Jesus' "true" and "real" presence and, ultimately, of his "bodily" and "substantial" presence in the Supper, while simultaneously rejecting any suggestion of a "natural" or

[49] For German and Latin texts of the *Formula concordiae,* see BDS 6.1:121–134.
[50] Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther*, 2: 204–207.
[51] BCor 2:53–54.

"local" presence in the elements. The trust between Bucer and Melanchthon played an important role in gradually convincing Luther of Bucer's sincerity. Third, while Bucer was able to convince Luther that agreement in all matters was not necessary for unity on the fundamental questions, the development (or perhaps better "nuancing") of Bucer's own views also made his claims about essential agreement more plausible to Luther. Here Bucer's concession that Jesus's presence was independent of a communicant's worthiness was crucial to the 1536 Concord, even as Luther and Bucer finally agreed to disagree on whether or not the faithless received Christ's body and blood.

The imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1530 had not been an opportune moment to highlight divisions in the Evangelical movement. The Tetrapolitan Confession[52] chose its words on the Eucharist carefully:

> In this sacrament [Jesus] gives his true body and true blood to be truly eaten and drunk, as food for their souls and to eternal life, so that they abide in him and he in them. For thereby will they also be raised to immortality and everlasting blessedness on the last day.[53]

This article, written by Bucer, also noted that the four cities of Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau discouraged disputation on the Lord's Supper. It thus avoided a more precise account of how Jesus's presence was tied either to the words and actions of the minister or to the elements. This was too much for Zwingli, who in 1531 gave Bucer to understand that he found the formula, "gives his true body" unacceptable.[54] Even so, the phrase, "as food for their souls," was at least an attempt to maintain Bucer's customary distinction between the material and spiritual dimensions of the sacrament. The four cities thereby kept their theological distance from Wittenberg.[55]

However, at a meeting of the Catholic and Protestant estates in the city of Schweinfurt in 1532, the adherents of the Augsburg Confession made it clear that the price of Strasbourg's admission to the Protestant military League of Schmalkalden was assent to their Confession. Bucer replied

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[52] That is, the confession of faith submitted to Charles V on behalf of the four imperial cities of Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, first printed in Strasbourg in 1531 [*Bibliographie,* no. 45].

[53] BDS 3:123.

[54] Zwingli to Bucer and Capito, 12 February 1531, in BCor 5:264: "Nam Christus non praebuit corpus suum in coena in cibum animae, sed corporis sui praebiti iam dudum . . . in cibum animae symbolum dedit."

[55] See, e.g., BCor 5:162: "Quam vero negamus cum pane corporalem eius unionem, paucis tamen indicavimus, his nempe notis: 'in cibum animae' . . ."

that Strasbourg was now able to give this assent.[56] He defended this position in a letter to Bonifatius Wolfart, an Augsburg preacher who voiced the dismay among the southwestern German cities at Bucer's apparent betrayal of the recently deceased Zwingli and Oecolampadius. A condition attached to Strasbourg's assent at Schweinfurt was that the Augsburg Confession should be interpreted in accordance with the more flexible account of Jesus's presence in Melanchthon's 1531 *Defence of the Augsburg Confession*: Jesus's "body and blood are truly and substantially present and are represented (*exhibentur*) *with* what is seen, bread and wine, to those who receive the sacrament."[57] In defending Strasbourg's acceptance of *vere et substantialiter* to Wolfart, Bucer had indeed rejected Zwingli's equation of "substantial" and "bodily" with "natural" presence.[58] Bucer argued that, if Jesus' presence were understood in terms of 1 Corinthians 10:6, John 6:55–56, and Ephesians 5:30, then it was "true" and "substantial," i.e., a communion with the real body of Christ and a mutual indwelling of Jesus with those who ate his flesh.[59] He noted that Melanchthon had made it clear that he, too, understood Jesus's eucharistic presence in the primary context of his presence in the members of his body (Ephesians 5:30; Galatians 2:20).[60] The scriptural passages regarding Christ's *absence* and ascension into heaven (e.g. John 14:2–3; Luke 24:51; Acts 1:11) had thus to be read in the light of passages referring to Jesus' continuing personal presence, and one should not attempt to be "more eloquent or wise" than the Holy Spirit.[61] Here Bucer seems to have had in mind the more intractable partisans of Zwingli. In contrast, Bucer claimed that he read the biblical texts in accordance with the "holy fathers,"[62] and he urged Wolfart to read Oecolampadius's *Dialogue*.[63] Besides, Bucer explained, Luther's "sacramental union" precluded notion of substantial conversion or local presence. Nor did Luther's partisans attribute Jesus's presence to the external work of the sacrament, as if *ex opere operato*.[64]

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[56] See his *Confessio Martini Buceri in Conventu Schweinfurdico*, in BDS 8: 41–54, esp. 51–52.

[57] *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche,* 5th ed. (Göttingen: 1963), pp. 247–248.

[58] Cf. Zwingli to Bucer, 12 February 1531, in BCor 5:263.

[59] Jacques Pollet, *Martin Bucer: études sur la correspondence avec de nombreuses textes inédits,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1958–1962), 1: 104.

[60] Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 94–95.

[61] Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 104.

[62] See Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 95–96.

[63] Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 103.

[64] Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 98.

Despite this rejection of any causal link between the outer and inner work of the sacrament, Bucer was more willing to highlight the kind of sacramental efficacy that he had recognized in the 1528 Commentary on John. One can already find examples of this new emphasis in the letter to Wolfart.[65] However, the challenge of Anabaptist Spiritualism in Strasbourg and Münster elicited an even stronger account of sacramental efficacy in the 1534 *Report from Holy Scripture*.[66] On the one hand, the Strasbourg ministers had always denied that "bodily reception of the sacrament was of itself an instrument, channel or vessel of grace and God's Spirit."[67] Nevertheless, the sacraments were

> signs of God's grace and mercy, for they are the presentation (*darreichung*) and fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ. Although they are outward words and signs, presented by humans, the Lord wishes to impart his gifts in this way through his church and its ministers, and so to bring us together as limbs of one body and assure us all the more of his mercy and gift, and, as our creator, to awake and strengthen our faith in him in a manner and measure that is suited to our nature and state.[68]

Finally, in various documents written between 1530 and 1536, Bucer acknowledged that, while only those with faith could feed on Christ, this did not mean that the sacraments were dependent on communicants' faith for their efficacy.[69] Bucer granted that it was quite the reverse. Because the sacraments depended wholly on God's promise and work, they were not compromised by the unbelief of their ministers. Rather, they were instituted "especially for the frail and weak, who need the heavenly food to strengthen their faith."[70] In this connection we find Bucer's first mention of an intermediate category of "unworthy" (*indigni*) partakers in a letter written to Gregor Brück, the Saxon Chancellor at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.[71] His first published treatment of this question appeared in *Against the "Catholic Axiom"* (1534), a work to which we shall return shortly. There Bucer argued that those who ate and drank judgment upon themselves

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[65] Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 118.

[66] On this see Ian Hazlett, "Eucharistic Communion: Impulses and Directions in Martin Bucer's Thought," in *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community*, ed. D.F. Wright (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 72–82.

[67] BDS 5:166.

[68] BDS 5:166.

[69] Ian Hazlett offers a useful resumé of Bucer's thought on this subject in BOL 5:114–115, n. 113.

[70] BDS 8:53.

[71] BCor 4:174–175.

(1 Corinthians 11:29) were not the ungodly (*impii*) but those who ate and drank "with faith, but not with sufficient heed." Besides, he asked, "Who is there, who can boast that he eats with sufficient worthiness and without incurring any judgment?"[72]

The elements of the Wittenberg Concord were thus in place. Bucer's party could reassure Luther that they did not believe only bread and wine were given in the sacrament.[73] Rather, as an institution and work of Jesus, the sacrament truly presented and gave the true body and blood of Jesus with the visible signs of bread and wine.[74] Bucer's party could even accept that communicants took Jesus's body in their hand and mouth, if this were understood in terms of the *unio sacramentalis,* or John the Baptist's claim (John 1:32) that he had seen the Spirit descend on Jesus as a dove. Though, to avoid misunderstanding, they would prefer to say that the body and blood were truly presented in a divine and heavenly, but nevertheless true and substantial, manner.[75] Luther and his supporters in turn reassured their counterparts that they did not understand the sacrament in terms of a "natural union," a "local presence," or as a "channel of grace." Nor did they believe that, in itself, the outward sacrament strengthened faith *ex opere operato.*[76] Bucer conceded to Luther's party that the unworthy did receive the body and blood of Christ and that the sacrament depended not on a person's faith or lack of it, but on God's word and ordinance.[77] He continued to insist that the godless received nothing in the sacrament, but Luther concluded that, because of the concessions regarding unworthy eating, it was no longer worth "bickering" about.[78]

Negotiations with the Traditionalists, 1534–1546

Even as Bucer was working to achieve Protestant accord in the wake of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, he was turning his attention to a more ambitious project: the mending of the religious schism in Germany and further

[72] BOL 5:115. See also, e.g., BDS 8:274–275 where Bucer explains this position to the ministers of Augsburg in 1533.
[73] See Bucer's account in BDS 6.1:150–153.
[74] BDS 6.1:147–148.
[75] BDS 6.1:148.
[76] BDS 6.1:146, 151.
[77] BDS 6.1:153.
[78] BDS 6.1:154.

afield in Europe. Luther had appealed to a "free" general council in 1520, and if a ruler like Charles V could be persuaded to follow the example of Sigismund I in calling a council independent of the pope, that body might decide in the reformers' favor. Yet a council summoned by the pope might not. Although Pope Paul III finally called a general council in 1536, it did not meet until December 1545. Prior to the council's convocation, as well as after it, Bucer promoted the idea that European rulers, advised either by a "free council" or a colloquy of "godly men," should pre-empt the pope, arbitrate between the competing claims within the church, and implement a "godly reformation."

Although this policy might sound like other reformers' appeal for assistance from the secular arm, it has to be understood in the context of Bucer's ecclesiology. Just as Bucer's true church included both "Lutherans" and "Zwinglians," it included many, "as yet under the papal yoke." In the letter to Wolfart mentioned earlier, Bucer distinguished between those parties that had to be opposed clearly and uncompromisingly, and those for whom allowances had to be made. The former included the pope and his cronies, as well as implacable sacramentarians. The latter included "curable" papists, and those who were equally devoted to Scripture and Luther's teaching.[79] In a similar letter to Zwingli, Bucer described his policy as one of "accommodation" (*oikonomia*). He admitted that it involved a kind of dissimulation, but compared it to Paul's accommodation of Judaizing Christians.[80] Elsewhere he evoked Paul's description of himself as becoming all things to all in order to win some to the fullness of the truth.[81] Thus, some of the startling concessions that Bucer appeared to make to Catholics during this period must be understood in the context of an ecclesiology that included supporters of Zwingli, like Wolfart, sincere partisans of Luther, and even "curable papists." Bucer's identification of other parties to whom no quarter should be offered, also explains why he was finally prepared to abandon this policy of rapprochement when circumstances seemed to demand that clear boundaries be drawn between Christ and Belial.

Bucer addressed the prospects for rapprochement on the Eucharist in three works published during this period: *Against the "Catholic Axiom"*

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[79] Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 120–122.

[80] Bucer to Zwingli, 14 January 1531, in BCor 5:193, 194. Paul's adaptability in this regard is a constant theme in Bucer's thought. See e.g., *Grund und Ursach,* in BDS 1:219; and *Bericht auß der heyligen geschift,* in BDS 5:318.

[81] See *Consilium theologicum* (c1540), in BOL 5:5.

(1534),[82] *Steadfast Defence* (1545),[83] and *On the True and False Administration of the Lord's Supper* (1546).[84] A fourth unpublished work, *Theological Advice* (c. 1540), was written to address the dilemmas faced by Evangelicals living "under the papal yoke," but its advice sheds light on how far Bucer thought Evangelicals might go in accommodating Catholic practices.[85] Only *On the True and False Administration* is devoted entirely to the subject of the Eucharist, but eucharistic questions occupy substantial portions the other three.

Against the "Catholic Axiom" was written in the context of Francis I's quest for an anti-Hapsburg military alliance with the Protestant League of Schmalkalden. Bucer was keen to explore any opportunities for reform, however conservative, that this diplomatic activity might make possible.[86] To forestall the tentative negotiations then under way, the Sorbonnist bishop of Avranches Robert Ceneau launched a broadside against the eucharistic theology of Bucer's 1527 Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels, describing Bucer as the "restorer of Berengar's heresy."[87] Ceneau hoped not only to stigmatize Bucer's eucharistic theology as heretical, but also to distinguish it from the positions of Luther and Zwingli, thereby drawing attention to Evangelical divisions. Bucer's general aim in replying to Ceneau's attack was to counter the bishop's claim that the Evangelical movement had broken ranks with the Church.[88] To this end, eucharistic questions occupied almost forty percent of the text. Like the Tetrapolitan Confession and many of Bucer's works in the service of concord, *Against the "Catholic Axiom"* was heavily laced with patristic citations. Bucer's aim was to convince a readership of "curable papists" that Evangelical doctrine was firmly rooted in the Catholic tradition.

Steadfast Defence and *On the True and False Administration* attempted a similar task in a different context. Both addressed the aftermath of two events in the 1540s: the first was a colloquy of Catholic and Protestant theologians before the Imperial Diet of Regensburg in 1541; the second

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[82] BOL 5.

[83] BDS 11.3.

[84] *De vera et falsa caenae dominicae administratione* (Neuburg-on-the-Danube, 1546) [*Bibliographie,* no. 160].

[85] BOL 4. On the circumstances of its composition, see ibid., pp. ix–xxii and Peter Matheson, "Martyrdom or Mission? A Protestant Debate," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 80 (1989): 154–171.

[86] See Hazlett, "Introduction," in BOL 5:xvi ff.

[87] BOL 5:105.

[88] BOL 5:12.

was Bucer's role in Archbishop Herman von Wied's attempt to reform the ecclesiastical principality of Cologne along lines both men believed had been sanctioned at the Diet of Regensburg. The Archbishop's reformation met with stiff resistance from his traditionalist clergy. One of these was Joannes Gropper, with whom Bucer had collaborated on the first draft of the so-called Worms-Regensburg Book, a proposed formula of concord for the whole German church.[89] Bucer took this proposal as a model for the Cologne reforms. Gropper claimed that Bucer had acted in bad faith, and with his colleagues produced a detailed *Counterreport,* attacking the Archbishop's reforms, and thereby offering an account of what Gropper believed had been negotiated with Bucer. Bucer's encyclopedic *Steadfast Defence* defended the Cologne Reformation, answering Gropper's arguments point by point.[90] Once again, the debate was heavily informed by the patristic interpretation of Scripture, because Bucer still felt bound to demonstrate to a traditionalist readership that the Evangelical movement had a better claim to the tradition than did the papal church. *On the True and False Administration* covers much of the same ground, though with an exclusive focus on the Eucharist, and a slightly different inflection. Bucer wrote the work in the knowledge that the first session of the long-promised general council was meeting at Trent. The work is addressed to Bartholomaeus Latomus, a humanist advisor to the Archbishop of Trier.[91] Bucer had once hoped that both Latomus and his patron could be won over to a program of conservative Evangelical reform similar to that implemented at Cologne, but both had now sided with Bucer's opponents there. Specifically, Latomus had written that he deemed it safer to err on the side of the church, its councils and tradition on questions such as communion under both kinds and the sacrifice of the Mass. While *On the True and False Administration* attempted to defend the catholicity of the Evangelical approach to both questions, it was also an ultimatum to the "curable papists." As pope and emperor moved to exterminate Evangelical reform in a pincer movement of council and war, Bucer effectively announced an end to his policy of *oikonomia*: the pope's pretentions in relation to the Mass were a gross idolatry; Latomus and his ilk must decide with whom they stood.

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[89] See Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, chs. 8–10. For the Worms-Regensburg Book, see BDS 9.1:323–483.

[90] Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice,* pp. 209–213.

[91] Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice,* pp. 213–216.

During this period Bucer's post-concord understanding of the eucharistic presence did not change in any fundamental way, however much he continued to burnish its catholic credentials. He also continued a forthright attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation and the veneration of the consecrated host. Over precisely these matters negotiations between Catholics and Protestants collapsed at the 1541 Colloquy of Regensburg.[92] The eucharistic formula Bucer and the Catholic Gropper had worked out in private discussions at Worms in 1540 was remarkably close to the Wittenberg Concord. After consecration through the almighty word of Christ, "the true body and true blood of the Lord are truly and substantially present and are distributed to the faithful under the species of bread and wine."[93] Gropper himself believed in substantial conversion, and the reference to bread and wine as *species* could be taken to point in that direction, but Gropper was not prepared to make the term "transubstantiation" a *sine qua non* of reunion. It appears that Cardinal Contarini, the papal legate at negotiations, was persuaded by the more intransigent Catholics, such as the negotiator Johannes Eck, that the *cum pane* formula of the Wittenberg Concord (enshrined in the 1540 *Variata* version of the Augsburg Confession) was a form of "Berengarian subterfuge." Contarini thus insisted on the insertion of "transubstantiation" into the final draft of the colloquy's proceedings.[94]

Interestingly, Bucer appears to have been willing in 1541, if necessary, to tolerate Catholic adherence to transubstantiation, provided that it was not required of the Protestants. If the two parties could secure an agreement on justification—as he believed they had—then this Catholic "weakness" could be tolerated. The Protestants at Regensburg suggested an alternative term "transconditionation," which would acknowledge that the "condition of the bread and wine are transferred into a spiritual condition."[95] It seems likely that this was Bucer's idea as well. In *Against the "Catholic Axiom,"* he had attacked transubstantiation, while acknowledging patristic references to a "change" in the bread and the wine, because "what was previously nothing but bread now offers and represents the true body of

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[92] See Pierre Fraenkel, "Les protestants et le problème de la transubstantiation au Colloque de Ratisbonne: documents et arguments, du 5 au 10 mai 1541," *Oecumenica* 3 (1968): 17–116; Joachim Melhausen, "Die Abendmahlsformel des Regensburger Buches," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie der Reformation: Festschrift für Ernst Bizer*, ed. L. Abramowski and G.F. Goeters (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), pp. 189–211.

[93] BDS 9.1:437.

[94] Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 176–178.

[95] Fraenkel, "Les protestants et le problème de la transubstantiation," p. 103, n. 23.

the Lord to us."[96] That recognition of sacramental change had been made grudgingly, but by the time Bucer came to write *Steadfast Defence*, he was prepared to give it a much fuller expression. Gropper's *Counterreport* had defended transubstantiation in all but name, citing a string of patristic texts in its favor. Bucer's response was to appropriate all of this material in support of his contention that it referred to a "sacramental change" rather than a transformation of the substance of the bread and the wine.[97] Here he drew on Pope Gelasius I's (d. 496) analogy between the two natures in Christ and the consecrated sacrament: in both cases (said Gelasius) the earthly "passed over" into the heavenly, without ceasing to be what it had previously been. This, Bucer argued, was true papal teaching. Indeed, he claimed that it had been the original meaning of *transubstantiatis*, when first used by Lateran IV (1215). The later claim that this also required the conversion of the substance of the bread and wine was a "scholastic fantasy."[98]

A similar approach drove Bucer's understanding of the Mass liturgy, including its vocabulary of "offerings" and "sacrifices." Like Luther and Melanchthon, Bucer acknowledged that such language was unobjectionable in its original historical context. Unlike them, he included the Canon of the Mass in this judgment.[99] A way towards reunion seemed to be provided by Gropper's account of eucharistic sacrifice in terms of the mystical union between Christ and his members. Through the words of consecration, the offering of bread and wine, which symbolized the people's grateful self-offering, came to represent the sacrifice of Christ himself. Christ became present as the victim and priest through whom the sacrifices of his members were acceptable to God the Father.[100] The claim that the "sacrifice of the Mass" was fundamentally constituted by the mystical presence of Christ to his members, was acceptable to Bucer, provided that it could be isolated from any suggestion of transubstantiation (in the scholastic sense) or "the superstitious opinion, whereby the badly educated think they can draw off the nature and energy of this most

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[96] BOL 5:113. Cf. Bucer's use of the term "transelemented" in *Bestendige verantwortung,* in BDS 11.3:307, l.28, and in the *Censura* of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, see E.C. Whitaker, *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer* (Great Wakering, 1974), p. 57.

[97] E.g., BDS 11.3:305.

[98] BDS 11.3:309–310.

[99] Nicholas Thompson, "Martin Bucer's Assessment of the Canon of the Mass in the Era of the Religious Colloquies," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 3, no. 1 (2001): 51–77.

[100] Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 156–163.

holy sacrifice as a result of the outward work of the priest alone, even if they bring to it no living faith, no godliness . . ."[101]

The Worms-Regensburg Book thus divided the Mass into four "spiritual sacrifices": (1) Christ present as sacrificial victim; (2) the church's offering of itself to God through Christ; (3) the church's sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for Christ's sacrifice; (4) bread and wine, which in the early church had been taken from a collection of food for the poor and so expressed the people's self-offering.[102] In the second sacrifice, the church recognized the solidarity among all of its members, living and dead, and made intercession for them through the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ. Here the offering of the Mass for the dead was clearly intended.[103] The agreement also found nothing objectionable in the Canon of the Mass, provided that it was understood in the sense just outlined.[104]

The subsequent falling-out between Bucer and Gropper uncovered the deep ambiguities in this statement. For Gropper, substantial conversion of the sacramental elements *ex opere operato* was fundamental to the above account; for Bucer it was not.[105] Gropper objected that the reformed communion liturgy at Cologne had abandoned the Roman Canon, nearly all allusion to sacrifice, and made no mention of the dead. For Bucer, prayer for the dead had been, at best, a commendation of the dead to God, in recognition of his mercy towards undeserving sinners. At worst, prayer for the dead had become complicit with idle speculations about Purgatory, and so the Cologne liturgy had abandoned it.[106] Similarly, Bucer went to great lengths to explain what he thought was the proper meaning of the Canon of the Mass, but again, he asserted that it was safer to abandon it because of the confusion that it caused.[107] Finally Gropper alleged that Bucer had signaled his willingness to tolerate the so-called "private Mass," or Mass without communicants. Bucer vigorously denied this. It seems that, at Regensburg, Bucer had suggested that Masses without communicants might be tolerated if the Catholic side worked to eliminate them by encouraging the people to frequent communion. It seems equally likely that the Catholic negotiators had agreed to this.[108]

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101 BDS 9.1:467.
102 BDS 9.1:461–465.
103 BDS 9.1:463.
104 BDS 9.1:467.
105 Thompson, *Eucharistic sacrifice,* pp. 238–254.
106 Thompson, *Eucharistic sacrifice*, pp. 260–272.
107 Thompson, *Eucharistic sacrifice*, pp. 272–277.
108 Thompson, *Eucharistic sacrifice*, pp. 200–204.

In theory, communion under one kind was the least problematic of the three questions on which Catholics and Evangelicals were divided. The Worms-Regensburg Book allowed both sides to retain their own practices (while acknowledging that *communion sub utraque specie* was the practice of the ancient church[109]), and this was also how Charles V's 1548 Interim tried to resolve matters.[110] However, as the aftermath of Regensburg revealed the extent of the differences between Gropper and Bucer, Latomus entered the debate, pointing out that the authority of the church was at stake, because the Council of Constance had condemned Jan Hus and his followers for questioning the church's authority on precisely this question.[111] Bucer's response to Latomus in *On the True and False Administration*, may be seen as marking the end of his attempt to win the traditionalists around. If Latomus was prepared to make communion under both kinds a test of catholicity, then so was Bucer. The church which had "truncated" the sacrament in this way was

> nothing but the succession and dregs of the popes and prelates, who for hundreds of years now have obstinately persevered in open rebellion against Christ, trampling underfoot Christ's precepts and the canons of the church—in open opposition to Christianity, that is—so that they are undoubted antichrists and blasphemers against the Holy Spirit.[112]

Interim and Exile, 1549–1551

At the beginning of his career as a reformer, Bucer had written that "because light has no fellowship with darkness, and Christ has no accord with Belial, and the believer has no part with the unbeliever . . . we have completely done away with everything without scriptural justification . . . in the Lord's Supper."[113] The end of his career saw him an exile in England, censuring the communion service in Thomas Cranmer's 1549 Book of Common Prayer for its inclusion of things that had not been "distinctly expressed in Scripture" and might thus give occasion for "pagan superstitions" and the ungodliness of the "antichrists."[114] Yet, in its essentials,

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[109] BDS 9.1:469.

[110] G. Constant, *Concession à l'Allemagne de la communion sous les deux espèces: étude sur les débuts de la réforme catholique en Allemagne* (*1548–1621*), 2 vols. (Paris, 1928), 1:35–36.

[111] Bucer, *De vera et falsa . . . administratione*, pp. 1–2.

[112] Bucer, *De vera et falsa . . . administratione*, pp. 68–69.

[113] BDS 1:206.

[114] Whitaker, *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 53–55.

Bucer's mature eucharistic doctrine had not changed.[115] As he attempted to settle disputes among the Evangelical exile community in London, or to advise Peter Martyr Vermigli on how to defend Evangelical doctrine in Catholic Oxford, Bucer continued to insist that Scripture and the Church Fathers demonstrated Jesus' bodily and substantial presence to his faithful in the Supper—his local presence in heaven notwithstanding.[116] Bucer's *Censura* abjured the sacrificial language remaining in the Book of Common Prayer, but only because of the way in which "papists twist these words."[117]

If we are to understand Bucer's eucharistic theology properly, we have to remember that he worked and wrote as confessional boundaries were *beginning* to harden. Because he did not take a permanent schism for granted, he was ready to engage in verbal and theological experiments that seemed tendentious, and even dishonest, to later generations of confessionalized Protestants. However, if his eucharistic thought is understood in its historical context and in close connection with his broad ecclesiology, it will be seen to have its own integrity.

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[115] See Hazlett, "Eucharistic Communion," pp. 79–81.
[116] See Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 1: 218–234, 260–272.
[117] Whitaker, *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 63.

JOHN CALVIN

Nicholas Wolterstorff

The central claim in Calvin's theology of the Eucharist is that, in the Eucharist, Christ's offering of his body and blood is both signified and effected, and the recipients' partaking of those is likewise both signified and effected. Christ is present in the sacrament in these two modes. Christ is present in other modes as well; and Calvin's theology of the Eucharist is not exhausted by his teaching concerning the modes of Christ's presence. But these two modes of presence are central in Calvin's eucharistic theology. So let me begin my exposition by laying out Calvin's thought concerning these two modes of Christ's presence.

The Central Sacramental Actions: Christ Offering of His Body and Blood and Our Partaking Thereof

Calvin's thought concerning Christ's sacramental presence was decisively shaped by his acceptance of the traditional definition of a sacrament as effecting what is signified, along with his interpretation of the words Christ spoke in instituting the Eucharist. Here are those words as we find them in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians:

> The Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my body that is for you. Do this in remembrance of me." In the same way he took the cup also, after supper, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." (1 Corinthians 11:23–25)[1]

In Matthew's narration of Christ's institution of the Eucharist, the words spoken over the cup are in two respects more closely parallel to what Paul gives as the words spoken over the bread than they are in Paul's narration. In Paul's narration, Jesus says that the bread is his body and that his body is *for* you; in Matthew's narration, Jesus says the wine is his blood and that his blood is *for* many. Here is what Matthew gives as Jesus' words over the cup:

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[1] My quotations from Scripture will all be from the translation of the New Revised Standard Version.

> Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he gave it to them, saying, "Drink from it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins. (Matthew 26:27–28)[2]

Traditional interpretations of Jesus' words in 1 Corinthians over the bread, and of his words in Matthew over the cup, treat them as if there were a full stop after "this is my body" and after "this is my blood." Essential to Calvin's interpretation is that the full stops come after "for you" and after "for many." "This is my body for you." "This is my blood for many." Calvin says in one place that "the very powerful and almost entire force of the sacrament lies in these words: 'which is given for you,' 'which is shed for you.'" Equally essential to Calvin's interpretation is that Christ invites us to take, eat, and drink. I quote Calvin's compact phrasing of Christ's words: "Take, eat, drink: this is my body, which is given for you; this is my blood, which is shed for forgiveness of sins."[3]

In a eucharistic celebration, the presider, representing Christ, offers bread to the recipients after saying "this is Christ's body given for you; take and eat;" the presider then offers wine to the recipients after saying "this is Christ's blood shed for the forgiveness of sins; take and drink," and the recipients then eat the bread and drink the wine. For Calvin, the central signifying phenomena are these actions—not the bread and the wine as such, but the presider's actions of offering the bread and wine and the recipients' actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine. Calvin affirms that the bread signifies (represents, stands for) Christ's body and that the wine signifies (represents, stands for) Christ's blood. But the bread and wine do not possess their signifying functions independently; they possess them within the context of the signifying function of the presider's actions of offering the bread and the wine and the signifying function of the recipients' actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine.

If the basic signifying phenomena are the presider's actions of offering the bread and the wine and the recipients' actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine, then that which is signified must likewise be actions. So what are those signified actions? Given what he has said so far, it is hard to see that Calvin could give any other answer to this question than

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[2] Matthew reports Jesus as saying over the bread, "Take, eat, this is my body." He does not add "for you."

[3] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960), vol. 2, bk. 4, ch. 17, sec. 3, p. 1362, hereafter *Institutes*. Henceforth I will incorporate references to the *Institutes*, in this translation, within parentheses in the text.

the one he does give. The presider's offering of the bread and the wine to the recipients signifies (represents) Christ's offering of his body and blood to them; and the recipients' eating the bread and drinking the wine signifies (represents) their partaking of Christ's body and blood.

Now recall that Calvin follows the tradition in understanding a sacrament as effecting what is signified: "God accomplishes within what the minister represents and attests by outward action" (*Institutes* 4.14.17; p. 1293). Thus the presider's actions of offering bread and wine do not merely signify for our "understanding and imagination" (*Institutes* 4.17.11; p. 1379) that Christ has offered his body and blood for us. In and by the presider's offering of bread and wine to the recipients, Christ now offers his body and blood to them. "Our Lord gives us in the Supper what he signifies by it, and we thus really receive the body and blood of Jesus."[4]

So too, the recipients' actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine do not merely signify that they partake of Christ's body and blood; their partaking is effectuated. "There are some," says Calvin, "who define the eating of Christ's flesh and the drinking of his blood as, in one word, nothing but to believe in Christ." Calvin demurs:

> It seems to me that Christ meant to teach something more definite, and more elevated, in that noble discourse in which he commends to us the eating of his flesh [John 6:26ff.]. It is that we are quickened by the true partaking of him, and he has therefore designated this partaking by the words "eating" and "drinking," in order that no one should think that the life that we receive from him is received by mere knowledge. As it is not the seeing but the eating of bread that suffices to feed the body, so the soul must truly and deeply become partaker of Christ that it may be quickened to spiritual life by his power. (*Institutes* 4.17.5; p. 1365)

Though it is not a condition of Christ's offering his body and blood to someone in the sacrament that the person have faith, it is a condition of her partaking of Christ's body and blood that she have faith. Faith does not, however, effectuate partaking. It is the Holy Spirit who effectuates our partaking of Christ's body and blood. "It is through [the Holy Spirit's] incomprehensible power that we come to partake of Christ's flesh and blood" (*Institutes* 4.17.33; p. 1405).

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[4] Calvin, "Short Treatise on the Lord's Supper," in *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, trans. J.K.S. Reid (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 163. Rather often Calvin speaks, as he does in the passage quoted, of God or Christ as doing the signifying. That seems to me not precise. It is the actions of the presider and the actions of the recipients that do the signifying.

How to Understand Partaking of Christ's Body and Blood?

When he attempts to say what it is to partake of (participate in) Christ's body and blood, Calvin does not employ some independently arrived at theory of participation. He is instead guided in his reflections by the assumption that it is by no means arbitrary that eating bread and drinking wine would be used to signify partaking of Christ's body and blood; on the contrary, the signifying action *depicts, pictures* the signified action. Accordingly, after reflecting on the function in our lives of eating bread and drinking wine, we can then employ "the analogy of the sign" (*Institutes* 4.17.10; p. 1370) to arrive at some understanding of what it is to partake in Christ's body and blood. We can use eating bread and drinking wine as a *model* for understanding partaking of Christ's body and blood. "Our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ in the same way that bread and wine keep and sustain physical life" (*Institutes* 4.17.10; p. 1370). Or to put the same idea in yet different words, we can employ *just as . . . so also* reasoning to gain some understanding of what it is to partake of Christ's body and blood. "By true partaking of him, his life passes into us and is made ours—just as bread when taken as food imparts vigor to the body" (*Institutes* 4.17.5; p. 1365).

> From the physical things set forth in the Sacrament we are led by a sort of analogy to spiritual things. Thus, when bread is given as a symbol of Christ's body, we must at once grasp this comparison: as bread nourishes, sustains, and keeps the life of our body, so Christ's body is the only food to invigorate and enliven our soul. When we see wine set forth as a symbol of blood, we must reflect on the benefits which wine imparts to the body, and so realize that the same are spiritually imparted to us by Christ's blood. These benefits are to nourish, refresh, strengthen, and gladden. For if we sufficiently consider what value we have received from the giving of that most holy body and the shedding of that blood, we shall clearly perceive that those qualities of bread and wine are, according to such analogy, excellently adapted to express those things when they are communicated to us. (*Institutes* 4.17.3; p. 1363)

Union with Christ and Partaking of His Body and Blood

In the passage just quoted, Calvin speaks of the benefits that bread and wine impart to the body and then says that spiritual benefits corresponding to those are imparted to us by Christ's body and blood—imparted to us when we partake of his body and blood. This suggests that our partaking of Christ's body and blood is one thing and that Christ's bringing

about effects within us of the partaking is another thing. In this interpretation, Calvin, in the passage quoted, is speaking of the effects Christ brings about rather than of the partaking as such. The signifying action also seems to suggest such a distinction; eating bread and drinking wine is one thing, the effect of eating bread and drinking wine is another.

There are other passages in which Calvin uses language that suggests a sequential relation between partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ and Christ bringing about the benefits thereof. He says, for example, that "the soul must truly and deeply become partaker of Christ that it may be quickened to spiritual life by his power" (*Institutes* 4.17.3; p. 1365). But nowhere does he explicitly draw such a distinction. And if we nonetheless interpret him as implicitly operating with the distinction, it turns out that everything he says about partaking is not about the partaking itself but about Christ's bringing about benefits of the partaking.

Calvin's thought, I suggest, is that Christ's bringing about spiritual benefits in us and for us *just is* our partaking of his body and blood—or to speak more precisely, each of these is the converse of each other. Christ's strengthening of one's faith is the converse of one's faith being strengthened by Christ; and this last is one aspect of partaking of Christ's body and blood. If this interpretation is correct—our partaking of Christ is the converse of Christ uniting himself with us—then passages in which Calvin describes Christ's action for us and in us are to be interpreted as simultaneously telling us what it is to partake of Christ's body and blood. Here is one such passage:

> This is the wonderful exchange which, out of his measureless benevolence, he has made with us; that, becoming Son of man with us, he has made us sons of God with him; that, by his descent to earth, he has prepared an ascent to heaven for us; that, by taking on our mortality, he has conferred his immortality upon us; that, accepting our weakness, he has strengthened us by his power; that, receiving our poverty unto himself, he has transferred his wealth to us; that, taking the weight of our iniquity upon himself (which oppressed us), he has clothed us with his righteousness. (*Institutes* 4.17.2; p. 1362)

Christ's actions for us and in us of justification, sanctification, and consummation constitute our partaking of his body and blood.

Why the Reference to Christ's Body and Blood?

One sometimes hears it said that union with Christ is the heart of Calvin's theology of the Eucharist. Though not false, this is incomplete and

misleading. Calvin does sometimes say that upon our receiving in faith the sacramental bread and wine, the Holy Spirit effects union with Christ. But far more often he says that the Holy Spirit effects participation *in the body and blood* of Christ. Reference to Christ's body and blood is indispensable for Calvin. There are some, he says, who hold that communion with Christ consists of being "partakers of the Spirit only, omitting mention of flesh and blood" (*Institutes* 4.17.7; p. 1367). Calvin rejects this.

A fundamental presupposition of Calvin's theology of the Eucharist is that the ascended Christ retains human nature, more specifically, retains a human body—glorified , but still human (*Institutes* 4.17.26). The ascension did not mean that Jesus Christ disappeared and that what remained was just the second person of the Trinity. Christ "did not put off the flesh" (*Institutes* 4.17.29; p. 1399). The ascended Christ remains *Jesus* Christ.

It was to keep before us that it is the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ who is present and active in the sacrament that Calvin, when discussing the Eucharist, almost always speaks of partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ. "The flesh and blood of Christ" is to be understood as a synecdoche for the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ. The sacrament presents to us the once-and-still embodied Jesus Christ. It is of the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ that we partake.

Calvin has another reason for insisting on speaking of partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ, in addition to his conviction that Christ remains the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ. Many of the actions that Christ performs for us and in us, and that constitute our partaking of him, are actions brought about by the shedding of his blood. So

> if the reason for communicating with Jesus Christ is in order that we have part and portion in all the gifts that he has procured for us by his death, it is not only a matter of being partakers of his Spirit; it is necessary also to partake of his humanity, in which he rendered complete obedience to God his Father, to satisfy our debts; though rightly speaking, the one cannot be without the other. For when he gives himself to us, it is in order that we possess him entirely.[5]

However, not all the gifts that Christ bestows upon us have been "procured for us by his death." Thus it is Jesus Christ entire in whom we participate, of whom we partake. We enjoy him "in his wholeness" (*Inst* 4.17.18; p. 1381).

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[5] Calvin, "Short Treatise on the Lord's Supper," pp. 146–147.

No Explaining How Partaking Occurs

I am here. Jesus Christ is in heaven. Wherever heaven may be, it is not here or near here. It was Calvin's view that each of us is separated from Jesus Christ by a great space. So how does Christ's spiritual nourishment of us take place—conversely, how does our partaking of the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ take place?

We do not know. "The mystery of Christ's secret union with the devout [when they partake of the sacrament] is by nature incomprehensible," beyond the capacity of any human being to fathom (*Institutes* 4.17.1; p. 1361).

> Nothing is more beyond the natural than that souls should borrow spiritual and heavenly life from a flesh that had its origin from earth, and underwent death. There is nothing more incredible than that things severed and removed from one another by the whole space between heaven and earth should not only be connected across such a great distance but also be united, so that souls may receive nourishment from Christ's flesh. (*Institutes* 4.17.24; p. 1390)

"Whenever this matter is discussed," says Calvin, "when I have tried to say all, I feel that I have as yet said little in proportion to its worth. And although my mind can think beyond what my tongue can utter, yet even my mind is conquered and overwhelmed by the greatness of the thing. Therefore, nothing remains but to break forth in wonder at this mystery" (*Institutes* 4.17.7; p. 1367).[6]

So mainly when the issue arises of how partaking takes place, Calvin affirms the reality of partaking and attacks alternative accounts of Christ's presence in the sacrament.

> Though he has taken his flesh away from us, and in the body has ascended into heaven, yet he sits at the right hand of the Father—that is, he reigns in the Father's power and majesty and glory. This Kingdom is neither bounded by location in space nor circumscribed by any limits. Thus Christ is not

[6] *Institutes* 4.17.32. Pp. 1403–1404 is another passage in which Calvin vividly makes the same point: "If anyone should ask me how this [participation in Christ] takes place, I shall not be ashamed to confess that it is a secret too lofty for either my mind to comprehend or my words to declare. And, to speak more plainly, I rather experience it than understand it. Therefore I here embrace without controversy the truth of God in which I may safely rest. He declares his flesh the food of my soul, his blood its drink. I offer my soul to him to be fed with such food. In his Sacred Supper he bids me take, eat, and drink his body and blood under the symbols of bread and wine. I do not doubt that he himself truly presents them, and that I receive them."

> prevented from exerting his power wherever he pleases, in heaven and on earth. He shows his presence in power and strength, is always among his own people, and breathes his life upon them, and lives in them, sustaining them strengthening, quickening, keeping them unharmed, as if he were present in the body. In short, he feeds his people with his own body, the communion of which he bestows upon them by the power of his Spirit. In this manner, the body and blood of Christ are shown to us in the Sacrament. (*Institutes* 4.17.18; p. 1381)[7]

Calvin lays down two conditions for the acceptability of an account of Christ's presence in the sacrament. He will take seriously any account that satisfies these conditions but reject any that fails one or both. "(1) Let nothing be withdrawn from Christ's heavenly glory—as happens when he is brought under the corruptible elements of this world, or bound to any earthly creatures. (2) Let nothing inappropriate to human nature be ascribed to his body, as happens when it is said either to be infinite or to be put in a number of places at once" (*Institutes* 4.17.19; pp. 1381–1382). "Such is the condition of flesh that it must subsist in one definite place, with its own size and form" (*Institutes* 4.17.24; p. 1391).

Calvin regards both the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and the Lutheran doctrine of what might called consubstantiation as failing these two conditions.[8] Calvin has a good deal to say in defense of the two conditions and in defense of his claim that the doctrines of transubstantiation and consubstantiation both violate the conditions (see especially *Institutes* 4.17.14–18). But to enter into his defense would be to enter into the Reformation-era polemics concerning these two doctrines; and that would seriously distract us from our project here of presenting Calvin's theology of the Eucharist.

But did Christ not say, with the bread in hand, that "this is my body"? And did he not say, with the cup in hand, "this is my blood"? He did indeed, says Calvin—though, as we saw at the beginning of our discussion, Calvin insisted on the importance of not dropping the "for you." But

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[7] *Cf. Institutes* 4.17.10, p. 1370: "Even though it seems unbelievable that Christ's flesh, separated from us by such great distance, penetrates to us, so that it becomes our food, let us remember how far the secret power of the Holy Spirit towers above all our senses, and how foolish it is to wish to measure his immeasurableness by our measure. What then our mind does not comprehend, let faith conceive: that the Spirit truly unites things separated in space."

[8] On the Catholic doctrine, see Robert J. Daly's contribution to this volume; on Luther's understanding, see Volker Leppin's contribution to this volume.

"is" has many different meanings, and it is not just obvious that it was the "is" of identity that Jesus was using. Calvin argues that we should understand Christ as meaning "this bread *stands for* my body," "this wine *stands for* my blood."

The medieval Church taught that Christ's words, when pronounced by the priest, declare that the bread and wine have been transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. Calvin understands the words as *assigning signification* to the bread and the wine, meaning let this bread signify (represent, stand for) Christ's body, let this wine signify (represent, stand for) Christ's blood. He quotes a sizable number of scriptural passages in which the verb "is" functions in this way (*Institutes* 4.17.21; p. 1385). And he then draws the following lesson:

> For though the symbol differs in essence from the thing signified (in that the latter is spiritual and heavenly, while the former is physical and visible), still, because it not only symbolizes the thing that it has been consecrated to represent as a bare and empty token, but also truly exhibits it, why may its name not rightly belong to the thing? (*Institutes* 4.17.21; p. 1385)

"On account of the affinity which the things signified have with their symbols, the name of the thing was given to the symbol—figuratively, indeed—but not without a most fitting analogy" (*Institutes* 4.17.21; p. 1385). He enlists Augustine in his support: "If sacraments did not have a certain likeness to those things of which they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all. Moreover, from this likeness they often also take the names of the things themselves" (*Institutes* 4.17.21; p. 1386).

Calvin adds an interesting argument against interpreting the "is" as the "is" of identity. Suppose we adopt the traditional understanding of a sacrament as effecting what is signified. If the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, then there is no longer any bread and there is no longer any wine. And if there is no longer any bread and no longer any wine, then there is nothing that signifies. Transubstantiation is incompatible with the understanding of a sacrament as effecting what is signified. It is true that what is said to be the body of Christ *appears* to be bread, and that what is said to be the blood of Christ *appears* to be wine. But these are only appearances; there is no bread and no wine, and hence no signification.

> Christ's purpose was to witness by the outward symbol that his flesh is food; if he had put forward only the empty appearance of bread and not true bread, where would be the analogy or comparison needed to lead us from

> the visible thing to the invisible? . . . The nature of the Sacrament is therefore cancelled, unless, in the mode of signifying, the earthly sign corresponds to the heavenly thing. (*Institutes* 4.17.14; p. 1376)

> Let it therefore remain certain that in the Supper the flesh of Christ is not truly and fittingly promised to us to be truly food unless the true substance of the outward symbol corresponds to it. (*Institutes* 4.17.15; p. 1378)

The Sacrament as a Seal

While the central sacramental actions are Christ's offering of his body and blood and our partaking thereof, these are not the only sacramental actions that Calvin identifies. By the presider's offering us the bread and the wine, and by our eating and drinking these, God also *seals* his promises to us—that is, confirms that Christ really is being offered and that we really are partaking of him.

> That sacred partaking of his flesh and blood, by which Christ pours his life into us, as if it penetrated into our bones and marrow, he also testifies and seals in the Supper—not by presenting a vain and empty sign, but by manifesting there the effectiveness of his Spirit to fulfill what he promises. (*Institutes* 4.17.10; p. 1370)

That the sacraments are both signs and seals of God's promises became commonplace in the Calvinist tradition.

To fully understand what Calvin has in mind here, we have to bring into the picture his understanding of Scripture and sermon, and of the way in which the Eucharist differs from those. Scripture and sermon are like the Eucharist in that they present Christ to us: "let it be regarded as a settled principle, that the sacraments have the same office as the Word of God: to offer and set forth Christ to us, and in him the treasures of heavenly grace" (*Institutes* 4.14.17; p. 1292). What is different about the sacraments is that, rather than employing conventional linguistic terms to signify Christ's offer and our partaking, they "set before our eyes" what they signify (*Institutes* 4.14.10; p. 1286). They represent pictorially what they signify. "By the showing of the symbol the thing itself is also shown" (*Institutes* 4.17.10; p. 1371). The sacramental symbol "truly exhibits" what it symbolizes (*Institutes* 4.17.21; p. 1385).

For us human beings, embodied, not incorporeal, and often weak in faith, this picturing serves the function of "making it more evident to us" that Christ is indeed offering himself and that we are indeed partaking of him (*Institutes* 3.14.3; p. 1278). It speaks both to our "dullness" of mind and to our "weakness" of faith (ibid.).

> As our faith is slight and feeble unless it be propped on all sides and sustained by every means, it trembles, wavers, totters, and at last gives way. Here our merciful Lord, according to his infinite kindness, so tempers himself to our capacity that, since we are creatures who always creep on the ground, cleave to the flesh, and do not think about or even conceive of anything spiritual, he condescends to lead us to himself even by these earthly elements, and to set before us in the flesh a mirror of spiritual blessings. (ibid.)

"The clearer anything is, the fitter it is to support faith. But the sacraments bring the clearest promises; and they have this characteristic over and above the word because they represent them for us as painted in a picture from life" (*Institutes* 4.14.5; p. 1280). One thinks of the old apothegm: a picture speaks louder than a thousand words!

Sacraments thus serve "the purpose of confirming and sealing" the actions signified (*Institutes* 4.14.3; p. 1278). Christ confirms (seals, ratifies) that he is indeed offering himself and that we are indeed partaking of him.

> For why should the Lord put in your hand the symbol of his body, except to assure you of a true participation in it? But if it is true that a visible sign is given us to seal the gift of a thing invisible, when we have received the symbol of the body let us no less surely trust that the body itself is also given to us. (*Institutes* 4.17.10; p. 1371)

Calvin cites Paul in support of thinking of the sacraments as seals; Paul calls circumcision a seal (Romans 4:11). And he makes clear that when he speaks of a seal he is speaking literally; he has in mind a seal placed on a document. The seal does not function to say something in addition to what the document says. It attests what the document says, confirms it, ratifies it (*Institutes* 4.14.6–7; pp. 1281–1282).

The Performative Character of Calvin's Eucharistic Theology

Calvin says in one place that his teaching on the sacraments has three main components: "the signification, the matter that depends upon it, and the power or effect that follows from both" (*Institutes* 4.17.11; p. 1371). I have thus far presented what Calvin has to say about the first two components, the signifying actions and the sacramental actions that they signify, these latter being Christ offering himself to us in the sacrament, our partaking of him, and his confirming (sealing) that he is indeed offering himself to us and that, by the work of the Holy Spirit, we are indeed partakers of him. What remains is to say something about what Calvin calls the effects or benefits. But before we turn to that, let us look back and reflect on the

overall character of what Calvin has said about the signification of the sacrament and about its matter or substance.

In opposition to those who "think that a hidden power is joined and fastened to the sacraments by which they of themselves confer the graces of the Holy Spirit upon us" (*Institutes* 4.14.17; p. 1292), Calvin declares that the minister's actions of offering the bread and the wine and our actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine are "means and instruments" for God's performance of the sacramental actions (*Institutes* 4.14.12; p. 1287). "They do not bestow any grace of themselves"; rather, it is God "who truly executes whatever he promises and represents in signs" (*Institutes* 4.14.17; p. 1293).

Calvin does not identify those who hold the position that he here opposes. But it is the position the Council of Trent would declare to be the official position of the Catholic Church, the position that had been articulated centuries earlier by Thomas Aquinas among others. In his discussion of the sacraments, Aquinas observes that some people contend that the sacraments "are the cause of grace not by their own operation, but in so far as God causes grace in the soul when the sacraments are employed." But if that were so, he says, they would be mere signs of grace, not also instrumental causes thereof. "The sacraments of the New Law cause grace: for they are instituted by God to be employed for the purpose of causing grace" (*ST* III, Q. 62, art. 1, resp.; see also Q. 62, art. 4, resp.).[9]

The various sacraments differ from each other somewhat as to the specific type of grace they cause. The Eucharist causes the forgiveness of sins[10] and the strengthening of faith, hope, and charity—all this in proportion to the "devotion and fervor" of the recipient (see *ST* III, Q. 62, art. 5; Q. 64, arts. 1, 5; Q. 79, arts. 3–8). Aquinas argues that when the priest validly pronounces the words of consecration, the bread is then transubstantiated into the body of Christ and the wine into his blood, so that when we receive the elements, we eat Christ's body and drink his blood. Our doing so infuses grace into us.

Calvin's position is close to the one Aquinas rejects. Christ is indeed present in the Eucharist, but not present as embodied in what once was,

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[9] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans., Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, 1947), 2: 2355–2358.

[10] Hence it is that Trent says (Seventh Session [3 March 1547], Decree on the Sacraments, Canon IV), "if any one saith that the sacraments of the New Law are not necessary unto Salvation, but superfluous, and that, without them, or without the desire thereof, men obtain of God, through faith alone, the grace of justification, . . . let him be anathema." See Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (New York, 1889), 2: 120.

and still appears to be, bread and wine, but present as agent. Calvin's understanding of the Eucharist might be called a *performative* understanding. The bread does indeed signify the body of Christ and the wine does indeed signify his blood; but they play this signifying role within the context of the presider performing the actions of offering the bread and the wine and the recipients performing the actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine. Those actions are the fundamental signifying phenomena. The signified phenomena are then likewise actions.

Let me be a bit more precise than I have been thus far on how Calvin seems to understand the relations between the signifying actions of presider and people and the signified actions.[11] By declaring "this is Christ's body given for you" over the bread, and "this is Christ's blood shed for you" over the wine, the presider ascribes signifying import to the bread and wine and to his action of offering them. When the presider then does actually offer the bread and the wine to the communicants, that *counts as* the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ offering himself. *By* the presider doing that, Jesus Christ does that. This is an example of what I have elsewhere called "double- agency" action: by one person doing something, another person does something.[12] Calvin understands the sermon along the same lines: by the minister preaching, God speaks. The minister's preaching *counts as* God's speaking (see especially *Institutes* 4.3.1).

So too, by the presider performing the actions of offering us the bread and the wine, and by our performing the actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine, Christ seals (ratifies, confirms, seals) that he is indeed offering us himself and that the Spirit is indeed effecting our partaking of him. The presider's and the communicants' performing those actions *counts as* Christ "sealing his promises," as Calvin often puts it. Once again, double-agency action.

The relation between our actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine and our partaking of the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ is somewhat different. Our actions do not *count as* our partaking—do not *count as* Christ uniting himself with us, do not count as Christ bestowing on us

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[11] In an earlier article of mine on Calvin's theology of the Eucharist, I drew out the analogies and connections between Calvin's understanding of the Eucharist and contemporary speech act theory, and the analogies and connections between Aquinas' understanding of the Eucharist and the understanding of language as a symbol system. See my "Sacrament as Action, not Presence," in *Christ: The Sacramental Word*, ed. David Brown and Ann Loades (London, 1996), pp. 103–122.

[12] See my *Divine Discourse: Philosophical Reflections on the Claim that God Speaks* (Cambridge, 1995), chap. 3.

justification, sanctification, and consummation. The situation is rather that the Holy Spirit *effects* our partaking of Christ *upon* our eating the bread and drinking the wine. The difference here is like the difference between one's utterance of some words *counting as* making a declaration and one's flipping of the switch effecting (causing) the turning on of the light.

This last point, about the connection between our actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine and our partaking of Christ raises a question closely related to, though not quite identical with, one that Aquinas raised. Do the signifying actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine play any role in the effectuation of the sacramental action of partaking of the flesh-and-blood Jesus Christ? Or are they nothing more than *the occasion* for the Holy Spirit to unite us with Christ? Are they signifiers and nothing more? The presider's actions of offering the bread and the wine are not the *occasion* for Christ offering himself; they *count as* Christ offering himself. So too, the presider's actions of offering the bread and the wine, along with our actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine, are not the *occasion* for Christ confirming that he is indeed offering himself and that we will indeed be partakers of him; they *count as* Christ confirming (sealing, ratifying) that. But the relation between our actions of eating the bread and drinking the wine and our partaking of Christ is different; our actions do not *count as* partaking.

Nonetheless, Calvin is emphatic that the relation is not just that *on the occasion of* our eating the bread and drinking the wine, the Spirit unites us with Christ. In a passage that I quoted earlier he spoke of the signifying actions as "means and instruments" of the Spirit's work. The Spirit does not effect our partaking of Christ in some occult, magical way. The Spirit employs the fact that the signifying actions *depict* the signifying actions, *shows* them: "the bread is called [Christ's] body since not only does it represent it to us, but also presents it to us."[13] The pictorial aspect of the sacrament is indispensable; it is, in Calvin's view, central to what makes the Eucharist a "means of grace" different from scripture and sermon.[14]

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[13] Calvin, "Short Treatise on the Lord's Supper," p. 147.

[14] *Cf. Institutes* 4.14.6; p. 1281: the sacraments are "mirrors in which we may contemplate the riches of God's grace, which he lavishes upon us. For by them he manifests himself to us . . . as far as our dullness is given to perceive, and attests his good will and love toward us more expressly than by word."

Words are also necessary, however. We have already seen that by repeating Christ's words of institution, the presider ascribes referential significance to the bread, the wine, and the offering and reception of those. Thereupon we the people understand what is being depicted. Such understanding is necessary if the Spirit is to use the sacrament as a means for uniting us with Christ; mutely handing some bread and wine to someone who has no idea what is going on will not do. Accordingly, the words of the Eucharist should not be "whispered without meaning and without faith, a mere noise, like a magic incantation, which has the force to consecrate the element. Rather, it should, when preached, make us understand what the visible sign means" (*Institutes* 4.14.4; p. 1279). "When we hear the sacramental word mentioned, let us understand the promise, proclaimed in a clear voice by the minister, to lead the people by the hand wherever the sign tends and directs us" (*Institutes* 4.14.4; pp. 1279–1280).

Effects or Benefits

Calvin describes his teaching on the sacraments as having three main components: the signification, the matter, and the effects or benefits. What he says about the effects seems to me less carefully and thoroughly developed than what he says about the other two components. One can see how he is thinking; but the precision and articulateness with which he develops his thoughts about the signification and the matter are lacking.

Calvin classifies the effects of participation by the faithful in the sacrament under three heads. First, the sacrament is a remedy for our weak faith.

> Christ is the only food of our soul, and therefore our Heavenly Father invites us to Christ, that refreshed by partaking of him, we may repeatedly gather strength. . . . Since, however, this mystery of Christ's secret union with the devout is by nature incomprehensible, he shows its figure and image in visible signs best adapted to our small capacity. Indeed, by giving guarantees and tokens he makes it as certain for us as if we had seen it with our own eyes. . . . Godly souls can [thus] gather great assurance and delight from this Sacrament; in it they have a witness of our growth into one body with Christ such that whatever is his may be called ours. (*Institutes* 4.17.1–2; pp. 1360–1362)

A question raised by this passage is whether or not what Calvin here cites as an *effect* of our participation in the sacrament is anything different from what he has already said is *constitutive* of our participation—namely,

our union with Christ, or to put it from the converse side, our partaking of Christ.

I know of no passage in which Calvin explicitly addresses this question, so let me speculate as to what he may have been thinking. Our partaking of Christ consists of Christ strengthening our faith—or to put it more generally, consists of Christ working for us and within us to justify, sanctify, and consummate. Our partaking of Christ is simply the converse of Christ performing those actions. Now, *our faith having been strengthened* is different, ontologically distinct, from *Christ strengthening our faith*. The latter is an action that Christ performs; the former is a state or condition that we are in as the effect of Christ's action. The distinction is subtle, but real. It is possible that Calvin was tacitly employing the distinction without ever calling to the attention of his readers that that is what he was doing.

The second effect Calvin cites, of participation by the faithful in the sacrament, is that they are moved to proclaim Christ's "lavish beneficence . . . with fitting praises and to celebrate it with thanksgiving" (*Institutes* 4.17.37; p. 1414). The problem here is that though participation in the sacrament may indeed have this effect, praise is also constitutive of the sacrament. The sacrament is itself an act of praise. Toward the end of his discussion of the Eucharist, Calvin himself calls it a "sacrifice of thanksgiving"; "the Lord's Supper cannot be without . . . a sacrifice of praise," he says (*Institutes* 4.18.17; p. 1445). On occasion he also calls it a "memorial" of Christ's sacrifice (*Institutes* 4.18.10; pp. 1438–1439). So it is strange that he does not discuss these dimensions of the Eucharist when he is discussing what is constitutive of the sacrament but only when he is discussing its benefits.

The following eloquent passage is Calvin's discussion of the third effect or benefit of participation by the faithful in the Eucharist:

> The Lord also intended the Supper to be a kind of exhortation for us, which can more forcefully than any other means quicken and inspire us both to purity and holiness of life, and to love, peace, and concord. For the Lord so communicates his body to us that he is made completely one with us, and we with him. Now, since he has only one body, of which he makes us all partakers, it is necessary that all of us also be made one body by such participation. The bread shown in the Sacrament represents this unity. And it is made of many grains so mixed together that one cannot be distinguished one from another, so it is fitting that in the same way we should be joined and bound together by such great agreement of minds that no sort of disagreement or division may intrude . . . We shall benefit very much from the Sacrament if this thought is impressed and engraved upon our minds: that

> none of the brethren can be injured, despised, rejected, abused, or in any way offended by us, without at the same time, injuring, despising, and abusing Christ by the wrongs we do; that we cannot disagree with our brethren without at the same time disagreeing with Christ; that we cannot love Christ without loving him in the brethren; that we ought to take the same care of our brethren's bodies as we take of our own, for they are members of our body; and that, as no part of our body is touched by any feeling of pain which is not spread among all the rest, so we ought not to allow a brother to be affected by any evil, without being touched with compassion for him. (*Institutes* 4.17.38; pp. 1414–1415)

In the face of the extraordinary eloquence of this passage, it feels like captious nit-picking to note that Calvin has once again blurred the distinction between what is constitutive of the performance of the Eucharist and what are the effects of participation by the faithful. Exhortation to charity is constitutive of the Eucharist; being moved to charity is an effect.

Why did Calvin not expand his understanding of what is constitutive of the Eucharist to include its being a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, its being a memorial, and its incorporating an exhortation to charity? I do not know. It was, of course, the polemical situation of his day that led Calvin to focus attention on the mode of Christ's presence in the sacrament. No one disputed that the Eucharist is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, no one disputed that it is a memorial, no one disputed that it incorporates or implies an exhortation to charity. The disputes wracking the church were over whether or not Christ was present in the sacrament, and if so, in what mode. So one can easily understand why Calvin placed the emphasis where he did in his theology of the Eucharist. But I have no explanation for why he classified as effects or benefits of the Eucharist dimensions that are in fact constitutive of it.

ANABAPTIST THEOLOGIES OF THE EUCHARIST

John D. Rempel

I. Background

From the apostolic era onwards, Christians have sought to celebrate the meal Jesus gave us with integrity.[1] This involved establishing baptism as the initiation rite into the body of Christ. A central concern was the way of life of those who gathered around the Lord's Table. For example, because warfare was widely believed to go against the teaching of the Gospel, soldiers returning from war had to observe a time of repentance before taking communion.[2]

At the same time, the integrity of the Eucharist was challenged by movements like Gnosticism, which held that the material world was evil and, consequently, that there could be no relationship between the realms of matter and spirit. Here the church, drawing on the Incarnation, declared that God the transcendent One was mediated to believers by earthbound elements such as bread and wine.[3] Descriptions of this reality in the West, such as those of Ambrose and Augustine, were not uniform in their formulation; their importance lay in safeguarding the paradoxical relationship between spirit and matter.

Both the concern for baptismal integrity and for sacramental reality[4] continued to shape eucharistic thought and practice in the ensuing centuries.

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[1] On the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, see Gary Macy's contribution to this volume.

[2] Paul Bradshaw et al., ed. *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Hermeneia Series (Minneapolis, 2002), p. 91. See also Cyprian, "The Good of Patience," 14, in *St. Cyprian's Treatises*, trans. Roy Defferrari, *Fathers of the Church*, vol. 36 (Washington, 1958), p. 277: "A Christian must not become a soldier, unless he is compelled by a chief bearing the sword. He is not to burden himself with the sin of blood. But if he has shed blood he is not to partake of the mysteries, unless he is purified by a punishment, tears, and wailing," Canons of Hippolytus 14.

[3] Josef Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame, 1959), pp. 109–117.

[4] I use the term "sacrament" in this article simply as the meeting point of spirit and matter. "Sacramental reality" is more difficult. "Reality" is that which is objectively present. For Catholics in the sixteenth century, eucharistic reality was the corporeal presence of Christ. For some Evangelicals, it was the spiritual presence of Christ in relation to bread and wine. For more radical Evangelicals, it was the congregation gathered to break bread. And for Spiritualists it was the spiritual presence of Christ unbound to outward forms.

The development of auricular confession as the gateway to communion is the most outstanding instance of attention to the sacrament's moral dimension. Manuals of penitential rites and practices continued to be written but theologically the dominant concern increasingly became doctrinal formulations about the nature of Christ's Supper. A widespread perception among the Evangelicals of the sixteenth century was that the more attention was focused on the elements the more the communal nature of the sacred meal receded. Within the celebration the priest became the only human actor; the consecration insured the presence of Christ regardless of the presence or participation of the congregation.[5] By the sixteenth century the debate concerning the Eucharist was largely about doctrines of the real presence. Even though all churches were concerned about the moral integrity of the breaking of bread, the fiercest debates concerned the relationship of bread and wine to Christ's body and blood.

Anabaptism protested the preoccupation with correct doctrinal formulation at the expense, in its view, of the human response to God's action in the sacraments and its communal character.[6] They sought a different balance between the objective reality of the Supper and its subjective appropriation, individually and collectively. Since the primary focus of the sixteenth-century ferment concerning the Lord's Supper was on doctrinal formulation, we begin there. In our presentation of particular eucharistic theologies in Anabaptism we will also attempt to show how different theologians sought to redress the balance between doctrinal and moral integrity.

In the late Middle Ages there was widespread concern with the breadth of acceptable formulation of eucharistic doctrine. More and more of late medieval formulations of eucharistic doctrine were considered heretical. William Crockett describes the development of a dissident eucharistic tradition. Until the ninth century, Ambrose's realism (that we truly receive

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[5] For a succinct description of these developments, see Gary Macy, "Diversity in Decline: the Later Middle Ages," in *The Banquet's Wisdom* (Akron, 2005), pp. 129–162.

[6] This focus on moral integrity is the core concern of early Anabaptist confessions of faith. See, for example, Schleitheim Articles and the Kempen Confession, in *Confessions of Faith in the Anabaptist Tradition*, ed. Karl Koop (Kitchener, 2006), pp. 27–28, 99–100, respectively. The Swiss Brethren Confession of Hesse consists largely of biblical quotations, with one striking sentence about the nature of the Supper: "Just as the bread and wine are received with the mouth, so the heavenly body, the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ are received by the believing soul spiritually in faith," ibid., p. 74. Detailed doctrinal formulation is left to the treatises we will explore.

the body and blood of Christ) and Augustine's symbolism (that they are mediated to us in symbolic form) were broadly understood as complementary approaches to the mystery of the Lord's Table. As the unity of symbol and reality, on which both patristic views depended, began to dissolve, eucharistic debate moved, on the one hand, toward physicality (the presence of the body and blood of the historical Jesus) and, on the other hand, toward spiritualism (the experience of Christ beyond mediating forms). The most memorable instance of the trend toward spiritualism was Berengar of Tour's eleventh-century protest against the real presence of Christ as a physical miracle. He, in turn, was accused of rationalism.[7]

From then on the two approaches diverged: "metabolic realism" became the stance of the official church; and "symbolic realism" became the stance of heretical movements.[8] John Wyclif, the fourteenth-century English priest and theologian, is widely considered the most significant articulator of symbolic realism before the Reformation.[9] Less academic and more local influences on the emergence of Anabaptist belief were popular renewal movements, such as Sacramentarianism, in the Low Countries.[10]

Sixteenth-century Evangelicals turned to these dissident traditions. As they appropriated them, they moved into two broad tendencies according to their Christology. The sixteenth-century debate concerning the breaking of bread centered primarily on Christ's person and nature, and only secondarily on exegesis of Gospel texts. Martin Luther, and those who followed his lead, asserted that Christ was present in the Supper in both his natures.[11] According to Luther's understanding of the communication of idioms,[12] the human nature of Christ was able to be present simultaneously at the right hand of the Father and in the bread. A second defining

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[7] William Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation* (New York, 1989), pp. 106–113. See also Macy's contribution in this volume.

[8] Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation*, p. 110.

[9] David Aers, *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, 2004), p. 59: "In Wyclif's vocabulary, 'idolatry' points to our misrecognition of the sacramental sign's constitution and our forgetting that its teleology is our conversion, not the conversion of the element."

[10] According to Cornelius Krahn, humanism and lay communal movements carried the Sacramentarian influence into the sixteenth century. See Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism* (Scottdale, 1981), pp. 44–64.

[11] On Martin Luther's theology of the Eucharist, see Volker Leppin's contribution to this volume.

[12] The communication of idioms is the claim that the attributes of one of Christ's natures become true also of his other nature.

principle for Luther was that the finite was capable of the infinite. This meant that Christ in his humanity as well as in his divinity was present in the elements. Andreas Karlstadt and Huldrych Zwingli provide the neatest contrast with Luther.[13] Karlstadt moved away from the structures of the Magisterial Reformation; he became a formative figure for the Radical Reformation and will be discussed in that context. For Zwingli, Christ in his human nature could be present only in one place at a time after his ascension—at the right hand of the Father. Because of his Christology and certain philosophical presuppositions, Zwingli concluded that the finite was not capable of the infinite. This meant that Christ was present only in his divinity in the Holy Meal. Except for Spiritualism, Reformation eucharistic theologies, including most Anabaptist ones, developed along this Lutheran—Zwinglian spectrum.

On the basis of Christological assumptions similar to those Zwingli held, a movement arose drawing more radical conclusions than he had ventured. "Spiritualism" held that believers could transcend mediated experiences of God for unmediated union with God. It had already been present in the later Middle Ages, at home in the sacramental universe of medieval Christianity. In the sixteenth century, it was loosened from that frame of reference. Most Evangelicals, including Anabaptists, taught that by faith believers can have an immediate relationship with Christ. At the same time, they held this relationship to be anchored in the claim that God's action was mediated through the visible church, the Bible, and sacraments. Sixteenth-century Spiritualists were more pneumatological than Christological in their theology and saw the tempering of immediate experience by mediated reality as an affront to the presence of the Holy Spirit in the world. In other words, the Incarnation, the mediated presence of God in the world, had been superseded by the work of the Spirit in the human heart.

II. Origins

Anabaptism came into being as a Church when its leaders defied a government ban on the meeting of religious dissenters. They carried out a celebration of baptism and the Lord's Supper in Zurich in January of 1525 that openly defied the authorities. Anabaptism became a Church not

[13] On Huldrych Zwingli's theology of the Eucharist, see Carrie Euler's contribution to this volume.

through a political or theological declaration, but through a liturgical act. Even though Anabaptists reinterpreted or rejected what medieval tradition had claimed concerning the substance and form of the Eucharist, the Eucharist remained for them the primal sign of Christ and the Church.[14]

The distinctive nature of early Anabaptism has a direct bearing on the development of its eucharistic beliefs and practices. It was a charismatic and barely institutionalized type of Church. Although its formal beginning was an outgrowth of Zwingli's reformation in Zurich, Anabaptism emerged in many settings mostly within but also beyond German- and Dutch-speaking Europe. In each of these settings, the Anabaptist theology and practice of the Lord's Supper had common as well as distinctive marks.

A brief characterization of its commonalities follows. In varying degrees, to the extent that their ecclesiology was integral to their sacramentology, the goal of Anabaptist thought and practice was threefold: to restore the meal character of the Supper and to use it to interpret the words of institution, to base the integrity of participation on a disciplined life in community, and to offer up their lives for others as Christ had offered up his life for them.

The most important source of Anabaptist understandings of the breaking of bread was a shared ecclesiology. They believed in a visible and pure Church composed of those baptized on their confession of faith in Christ and living a life of mutual forgiveness and faithful discipleship. For them the primary ecclesial meaning of "body of Christ" was a historical community that acted in imitation of its Lord. It was this body that took on form and was transformed in communion. The gathered community was the human agent of God's work in the world, and the Holy Spirit was the divine agent. In his analysis of this development among the Anabaptists called Swiss Brethren, J.F.G. Goeters describes their Supper as a movement from the self-communion of a priest without a congregation to the self-communion of a congregation without a priest.[15] This reversal was generally true of Anabaptism.

An implicit commonality of the movement was its emphasis on a practical Christianity. Its leaders were often autodidacts whose concern

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[14] Fritz Blanke, *Brothers in Christ* (Scottdale, 1966), pp. 21–28. See, for example, Conrad Grebel, "Letter to Thomas Muentzer," in *The Radical Reformation*, trans. and ed. Michael Baylor (New York, 1991), pp. 38–41.

[15] J.F.G. Goeters, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie der Reformation* (Neukirchen, 1969), p. 270.

was faithful living. That, they were convinced, was the area in which the Church most needed reform. This focus left limited time and talent for comprehensive theologizing. Christological reflection in Anabaptism generally affirmed Nicaea and Chalcedon as necessary boundary markers but focused largely on the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus as described in the New Testament. When the debates in which they engaged questioned God's triune nature or Christ's divine nature, Anabaptist thinkers affirmed both claims. But in reference to the everyday life of discipleship, they made their case in relation to the narrative of Jesus' life as portrayed in the Gospels.

Some Anabaptist authors remained largely and insistently within that frame of reference. Nevertheless, contemporary debate concerning the Lord's Supper pressed several Anabaptist authors to move beyond simple biblical reflection to theological formulation. Relating the earthly Jesus to the heavenly Christ, for example, required them to address issues that arose in the post-apostolic age, which in turn, required them to think in philosophical categories. The doctrines of the later Church were understood and applied with different levels of explicitness across the movement. In order to highlight both the commonalities and contrasts within Anabaptism we offer a broad sampling of eucharistic thought and practice, but give the most attention to the movement's three most systematic thinkers on the subject—Balthasar Hubmaier, Pilgram Marpeck, and Dirk Philips.[16]

III. Andreas Karlstadt: Forerunner of Anabaptism

Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541) was a professorial colleague of Martin Luther at the University of Wittenberg. From 1518 through 1521, Karlstadt identified with Luther's emerging theology, including his writings on Holy Communion.[17] During Luther's absence from Wittenberg after 1521 and the town's intensifying quest for church reform, Karlstadt led the implementation of Luther's writings on worship. This included a shift in the understanding of worthiness to take communion based on the

[16] They, along with Menno Simons, remain the most influential sixteenth-century leaders for mainstream Mennonitism. Philips has pride of place among the Amish. Peter Riedemann and Peter Walpot play that role among the Hutterites. Hubmaier is the defining figure for those Baptists who trace their origins to Anabaptism.

[17] Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 10–15.

primacy of faith. In the old Church, preparation involved going to confession and living a life free from open sin. For the "Lutherans," preparation consisted of faith in Christ's promise of forgiveness.

At the same time that he was putting Luther's thinking into practice, Karlstadt was becoming more and more restless with the traditional sacramental realism to which Luther had remained loyal. Calvin Pater asserts, "Karlstadt erases the traditional *res* and *signum* relationship. *Res* and *signum* have been severed."[18] The sign does not convey the reality; it merely points to a reality that is conveyed inwardly by grace through faith. This move amounts to the dismantling of medieval sacramental thought at its core. Karlstadt did not hesitate to express this dismantling of the medieval unity liturgically. On Christmas Day in 1521 he went beyond the simplifications to the Mass already agreed upon. After the sermon, without donning the eucharistic vestments, he stood behind the Lord's Table, invited all who were sorry for their sins to it, spoke the words of institution in German, and placed both bread and cup into the hands of communicants.[19] This revolutionary departure from custom provided a psychological breakthrough for liturgical innovation that would have been unthinkable prior to that moment. Further, Karlstadt buttressed his theological and liturgical movements with an exegetical one. He interpreted Jesus' words, "This is my body," as a reference, not to the bread, but to Jesus's own body as he sat at the Passover table and as he shortly hanged on the cross.[20]

Calvin Pater makes the case that Karlstadt's thought had a foundational and direct influence on Zwingli[21] and the Conrad Grebel circle;[22] on Melchior Hoffmann, the north German apocalyptic Anabaptist,[23] and through him, on Menno Simons, the most revered first generation leader;[24] on Hans de Ries,[25] the key third generation Dutch leader; and on the English Baptists,[26] who took up with the Dutch Mennonites when they were in

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[18] Calvin Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father of the Baptist Movements: the Emergence of Lay Protestantism* (Toronto, 1984), p. 101. See also pp. 118, 209.

[19] Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins*, p. 29.

[20] "Exegesis of this Word of Christ," sermon of October 1524, in *The Eucharistic Pamphlets of Andrea Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, trans. and ed. Amy Nelson Burnett (Kirksville, 2011), pp. 144–162, esp. pp. 147–151.

[21] Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father*, pp. 117–128. On Zwingli's eucharistic thought, see Carrie Euler's contribution to this volume.

[22] Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father*, pp. 128–138.

[23] Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father*, pp. 198–201.

[24] Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father*, pp. 249–253.

[25] Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father*, pp. 257–261.

[26] Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father*, pp. 260–263.

exile in Amsterdam. Once Pater moves beyond the Swiss context, his case becomes less precise and less persuasive.

It is, perhaps, more relevant for the purposes of this essay to summarize specific teachings and practices of Karlstadt that left a mark on Anabaptism. First, he brought a radicalized understanding of Augustine's sacramentology, in which there is an "ontological barrier" between the reality and its sign, into the Anabaptist orbit.[27] Second, there is his sharp distinction between the two natures of Christ and its application to the debates concerning the Holy Supper. Karlstadt's deduction, which many Anabaptists accepted, was that because of this distinction, Christ in his humanity was in heaven and could not be in the elements. Third, his exegesis of the words of institution (that the referent for "this" is Jesus' body and not the bread) was taken up by some Swiss and Dutch Anabaptists. Again, it seems to me that there was a psychological dimension to this innovation, coming as early in the course of reform as it did. It broke a monopoly on interpreting the defining words of eucharistic thought.

Just as Anabaptism was coalescing as a distinctive path of reform, Karlstadt withdrew from public life. But the more important reason for the limit of his influence on Anabaptism was that he never developed an ecclesiology in keeping with his wider reforms. The defining mark of Anabaptism was that it did so. As we shall see, this difference (the visible Church entered by believers' baptism as the body of Christ) was a significant factor in the development of Anabaptist sacramental thought.

IV. Major Writings on the Lord's Supper

Swiss and Moravian Anabaptism

Balthasar Hubmaier (c. 1480–1528)

Balthasar Hubmaier was the most original and sophisticated thinker associated with the Swiss Brethren (whose influence began in the canton of Zurich and quickly spread into southwest Germany and Moravia). Hubmaier was a restless spirit. He received his doctorate in theology under Johannes Eck in Ingolstadt, taking a special interest in liturgical studies. He subsequently engaged Lutheran and Reformed thought and finally cast in his lot with the Anabaptists. The theology of Hubmaier, like the person, stands between the fronts of the Reformation. In his understanding of baptism and discipleship he was Anabaptist, yet he understood

[27] Christoph Windhorst, *Taeuferisches Taufverstaendnis* (Leiden, 1976), p. 198.

the Church as a public institution protected by the state. He was unique, for instance, in his attempt to fashion a mass Church that was also a believers' Church. In addition, he brought his training in liturgy to bear on his ministry, particularly in the liturgical form of the services he wrote for baptism, the Supper, and the ban.[28]

Hubmaier's great passion during his short time as an Anabaptist was to set forth his conviction concerning the correct relationship between divine initiative and human response. Nowhere is this theme presented as vividly as in his theology of the ceremonies. His theology of the Supper flows from his understanding of faith and church, free will and covenant, which he had received from his nominalist mentor, Johannes Eck.[29] It is shaped by his extreme reaction against late medieval eucharistic thought and practice as he had experienced them, especially claims for the physical presence of Christ in the sacrament. In order to avoid any notion of a corporeal presence in the bread and cup, Hubmaier posited the community's communion with Christ as an inward reality prior to the outward event.

In this move he sided with Zwingli in locating the human nature of Christ in heaven. Yet Hubmaier goes further than Zwingli: a divine presence in the Supper comes not as Christ in his divinity but as Spirit, in Johannine fashion; after the ascension the Spirit replaces the Son on the plane of history. The church and the believer are the outward actors while the Spirit acts inwardly.[30] As a consequence, the object of baptism becomes the candidate's oath rather than the water, and the object of communion becomes the community's covenant rather than the elements of bread and wine. For Hubmaier, the breaking of bread focused on being rather than receiving the body of Christ. Because of his reformulation, the exegetical debate concerning "est" or "significat" as the way in which Christ is present had become anachronistic for Hubmaier.

In "Several Theses Concerning the Mass" of 1525, Hubmaier offers this summary of his views. The Supper of Christ is a commemoration of his suffering and a proclamation of his death until he comes again. The breaking of his bread and the drinking of the wine in the "Christ meal" is

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[28] "A Form for Water Baptism," "A Form for Christ's Supper," and "On the Christian Ban," in *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*, trans. and ed. H. Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder (Scottdale, 1989), pp. 386–392, 393–408, 409–425, respectively.

[29] Walter Moore, "Catholic Teacher and Anabaptist Pupil: the Relationship between John Eck and Balthasar Hubmaier," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 72 (1981): 79–93.

[30] As will be seen below, Pilgram Marpeck uses this parallelism to heighten the sacramental nature of the eucharistic event rather than to diminish it.

an outward sign or symbol instituted by Christ before his death, which signifies to us how he offered his body for us and shed his blood so that we might also do the same for the sake of our neighbor.[31]

This is exactly what we find in "A Form for Christ's Supper." The form loosely follows the order of the Mass, but with many adaptations. Rubrics are placed within the text, presumably, to make sure that worshipers rightly interpret each gesture. The presider is called a "priest."[32] A general confession of sin opens the service. A sermon follows, using Luke 24:31 illustratively.[33] Hubmaier describes its purposes as helping worshipers recognize Christ, rebuke the "slow to believe," and set them "afire" in meditation on his suffering and death.[34] After the sermon, worshippers may ask for clarification of the text and someone "to whom something is revealed" is permitted to give a further teaching.[35] Then comes the call to self-examination from 1 Corinthians 11 with extensive comments about "hungering for the bread which comes from heaven," and then "feeding the hungry" of the world.[36] A silence is held that is concluded by the Lord's Prayer.

Then follows "The Pledge of Love" consisting of four questions. The second question the Pledge asks of each believer is whether "you will love your neighbor . . . and lay down and shed for him your life and blood . . . in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who laid down and shed his flesh and blood for us."[37] Even though the believer's encounter with Christ occurs prior to the Supper, the event is not spiritualized because there is an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual reality" in the community's concrete imitation of Christ.

After that comes a prayer of thanks for Christ's self-giving, the words of institution as a composite of the Synoptic and Corinthian accounts concerning the bread, followed by the eating of the bread. Next are the words of institution for the cup and the drinking of the cup. In conclusion the priest exhorts the people to live in conformity with what they have confessed in baptism and the Supper. Finally the presider prays a blessing,

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[31] Hubmaier, "Several Theses Concerning the Mass," in *Balthasar Hubmaier*, p. 74.
[32] Hubmaier, "A Form for Christ's Supper," pp. 394, 399.
[33] Hubmaier, "A Form for Christ's Supper," p. 396.
[34] Hubmaier, "A Form for Christ's Supper," pp. 394–395.
[35] Hubmaier, "A Form for Christ's Supper," p. 396.
[36] Hubmaier, "A Form for Christ's Supper," pp. 396–402.
[37] Hubmaier, "A Form for Christ's Supper," p. 403.

including himself in the prayer, "Arise and go forth in the peace of Christ Jesus. The grace of God be with us all. Amen."[38]

The outstanding novelty in this service is "The Pledge of Love." Such cruciformity is found in other Anabaptist articulations of what happens in the breaking of bread. In fact, in settings of persecution this aspect of communion dominated. This may be seen in Hans Schlaffer's "A Simple Prayer," written while he was awaiting execution in 1527. With realistic eucharistic images from John 6 employed in haunting ways, Schlaffer confesses, "Thus, if we eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood, then in death we offer our body—that is, the flesh—and shed our blood for the sake of his name." When believers receive Christ in the Supper, they embody him.[39]

The recent translation of Henri de Lubac's writings into English has brought the history of this notion to popular attention. Lubac documents a profound shift in the sacramental thought of the High Middle Ages.[40] Crockett's interpretation of Lubac's dense prose is that in this shift of thought an inversion takes place. The church is no longer primarily the sacramental body of Christ, but the mystical; the Eucharist is no longer primarily the mystical body of Christ, but the sacramental.[41] It goes beyond the scope of this essay to try to demonstrate a continuity of thought with the older definition in the Radical Reformation. But one could say that an affinity of thought exists in Anabaptism for the notion of the Church as the sacramental body of Christ that Lubac attributes to the age of the Fathers and the early Middle Ages. It is true that Anabaptist understandings of the three meanings of the body of Christ (historical, sacramental, ecclesial) remained truncated. Yet the sacramental dimension, that is, the mediation of spirit by matter, was not lost in Anabaptism; it reverted to the patristic understanding that "the sacramental body of Christ" referred primarily to the tangible worshiping community gathered to break bread.

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[38] Hubmaier, "A Form for Christ's Supper," p. 406.

[39] Schlaffer, "A Simple Prayer," in *Joerg Maler's Kunstbuch: Writings of the Pilgram Marpeck Circle*, ed. John D Rempel (Kitchener, 2010), esp. pp. 290–298. Similarly, Joerg Zaunring makes giving one's life in imitation of Christ the encompassing meaning of the Supper, "A Short Interpretation of the Last Supper of Christ," in *Sources of South German/Austrian Anabaptism*, ed. C.A. Snyder (Kitchener, 2001), pp. 166–170.

[40] Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*, trans. Gemma Simmonds C.J., ed. Laurence Hemming and Susan Parsons (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 141–180, esp. 162–175.

[41] Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation*, p. 107.

There is certain fluidity in thinking within and among authors, but in most of Anabaptism, bread is more commonly a sign of the Church as Christ's sacramental presence rather than a sign of his person. The majority follows Hubmaier's lead: for them individual communion with Christ happens inwardly, either as a preparation for the outward Supper or concomitantly with it. The people who joined radical expressions of reformation were often those who had been dissatisfied with the externality of religious practice they had experienced in the late medieval Church. As a corrective, they emphasized the inward experience of Christ, concluding that an existential encounter with Christ could not be sacramentally mediated. Yet there was an outer, sacramental dimension to their faith. It was the church as a visible manifestation of the work of grace.[42]

Peter Walpot (1521–1578)

Another significant treatise on the Lord's Supper is indebted to the Swiss Brethren, one of several influences on the emergence of Hutterianism in Moravia: *Concerning the Supper of Christ* by Peter Walpot.[43] He assumed more and more theological leadership and became the bishop of all the colonies in Moravia and Slovakia in 1565, a post he held until his death. Along with other of Walpot's writings, *Concerning the Supper of Christ* was included in the core writings of the *Article Book*, the canonical text of the movement.[44]

The Supper is written in the trajectory of Zwingli, Karlstadt, and the Swiss Brethren, including Hubmaier, even though the era that debate represents was by then long past. There are two possible reasons for the reinforcement of a symbolist approach to communion. Tridentine Catholicism had not yet reached Moravia; even so, the Hutterites were a tiny island surrounded by a Catholic sea. They had to explain why they could not accept Catholic teaching. The other possibility is that there was a lingering mystical dimension in the movement, going back to its origins in the writings of Hans Hut, which had been largely supplanted by

[42] Laurence Hemming and Susan Parsons call such a one-sided meaning of "body of Christ" the "fetishisation" of community. See their Introduction, Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, p. xiii.

[43] "Vom Abentmall Christi," in *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscherTaufgesinnter*, ed. Robert Friedmann, vol. 2 (Gütersloh, 1967), pp. 125–169.

[44] Robert Friedmann, "Peter Walpot," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia IV* (Hillsboro, 1973), pp. 880–882.

another shaper of the movement's origins, the Swiss Brethren.[45] Walpot might have wanted to reinforce this supplanting.

Its first distinctive motif is the treatment of 1 Corinthians 10:16. Since all Christians partake of one bread, Christians want to be one bread and body ground together[46] through the Word of God into one Church.[47] Whoever lives for possessions, greed, obstinacy, and self-will cannot be part of it. In other words, without giving up private property, Christians cannot be part of the one body of the Supper and the Church. Even though the point is clear, it receives much less attention than the standard exegesis of the words of institution and the Passover images behind them in sixteenth-century debate.[48]

Toward the middle of the treatise, the author's line of thought takes a rationalistic turn when he tries to prove that Christ's human body can only be in heaven.[49] Here Walpot counters the notion that the "natural" body of the Lord is received in communion. This use of "natural" seems to involve confusion (whether Walpot's or his opponents') in the use of medieval terminology between "substance" and "quantity." The substance of something is that which truly exists; it is corporeal but not accessible to the senses, not measurable. Quantity is the contrary; it is accessible to the senses and measurable. For Walpot, as for the Swiss Brethren and Zwingli, the "natural" body of Christ is a quantity that resides at the right hand of the Father; therefore, it cannot be in the bread.

Later on, Walpot takes up the notion of unworthy communion in 1 Corinthians 11. For Walpot, whoever is unwilling to serve the brothers in love is unworthy. Of themselves bread and wine are physical things, he argues, but when they become part of the breaking of bread, they have great significance, because whoever eats without love misuses the elements.[50] Here Walpot might have been inspired by Hubmaier. A few pages later Walpot quotes Hubmaier verbatim, without naming him, summarizing

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[45] Werner Packull, *Mysticism and the Early South German-Austrian Anabaptist Movement 1525–1531* (Scottdale, 1977), pp. 142–154. Even though the Swiss and the Hutterites had fallen out with each other because of their opposing views on the community of goods, their theological disposition remained similar.

[46] This allusion is to a metaphor—of the Supper and the church as grains of wheat ground together—Walpot uses several times in this text.

[47] "Vom Abentmall Christi," pp. 127–128.

[48] "Vom Abentmall Christi," pp. 129–132, 137ff.

[49] "Vom Abentmall Christi," pp. 143–46.

[50] "Vom Abentmall Christi," pp. 159–160.

fifteen conflicting approaches to the Eucharist. Walpot adds a sixteenth position describing the "in, with, and under" position of Lutheranism.[51]

Two facts are striking about *Concerning the Supper*. First, unlike Henrick Rol and Melchior Hoffmann (see below), Walpot offers more than a spiritualistic reinterpretation of the breaking of bread, as we can see in his references to the visible church as the body of Christ. Second, it is puzzling that such a sacramental understanding remains embryonic and hardly shapes the direction of his thought.

Pilgram Marpeck (1495–1556)

In most streams of Anabaptism, eucharistic thought is dominated by figurative exegesis and an emphasis on the body of Christ as the Church. These two dimensions constitute the beginning but not the completion of a distinctively Anabaptist understanding of the Holy Supper. Their arguments were aimed at Catholics, and in some instances Lutherans. Pilgram Marpeck makes use of these notions but goes beyond them to address the nature of a "ceremony" (as he most often called it) and the relationship between matter and spirit. His arguments were aimed at Spiritualists.

Marpeck, an engineer in the Austrian mining town of Rattenburg, became a self-taught theologian when he joined the Anabaptists in 1528. He was the most theologically innovative and comprehensive leader of urban South German Anabaptism. His theologizing was increasingly done in a collective of leaders who came to be known as the Marpeck Circle.[52] His dissatisfaction with medieval sacramental thought was that, in his view, it lacked a dynamic, relational principle. Very soon he realized that the emerging alternative of Spiritualism, which rejected all mediation between the divine and human, brought an opposite danger with it.[53] As Marpeck saw it, when the Spiritualist corrective to an externalized sac-

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[51] "Vom Abentmall Christi," pp. 164–165. For Hubmaier's words, see *Balthasar Hubmaier*, pp. 319–320; and more explicitly in *Balthasar Hubmaier Schriften*, ed. Gunner Westin and Torsten Bersten (Gütersloh, 1962), pp. 290–291. The translation of Rol is by the present writer.

[52] For a comprehensive study of Marpeck's social and intellectual formation, see Walter Klaassen and William Klassen, *Marpeck: A Life Of Dissent and Conformity* (Scottdale, 2008).

[53] An excellent summary of Radical Reformation Spiritualism, centering on Marpeck's chief debating partner, Caspar Schwenckfeld, is found in Emmet McLaughlin, "Spiritualism: Schwenckfeld and Franck and their Early Modern Resonances," in *A Companion to Spiritualism and Anabaptism*, ed. John Roth and James Stayer (Leiden, 2007), pp. 119–162. For an examination of Spiritualist Anabaptists, see Geoffrey Dipple, "The Spiritualist Anabaptists," in the same volume, pp. 257–298.

ramentalism was made into a first principle, it negated the Incarnation and its prolongation in the church and its signs. Marpeck's chief debating partner on the subject, Caspar Schwenckfeld, taught that the principle of the Incarnation as "a physical medium" had been superseded.[54]

Marpeck's alternative to the tendency to spiritualize Christ's presence, especially in relation to bread and wine, emerged out of the inseparable relationship he posited among Christology, pneumatology, ecclesiology, and sacramentology.[55] Tying these four realms together was the principle that God uses matter to convey spirit in a way that inner and outer cannot be separated.[56] This bond had to do with the very nature of a sacrament: the inseparability of the divine initiative and the human response, the point at which grace and faith meet. It was his attempt to overcome the medieval notion of *ex opere operato*, in which the sign achieves what it signifies, as long as an obstacle is not put in its way. For Marpeck, the principle of *ex opere operato* reduced the Eucharist to a static object. His alternative was to see the Supper as an action rather than an object. When bread and wine are shared in the power of the Spirit with those who have gathered in faith and love, they are united with Christ and one another. Once the relational nature of communion was in place, Marpeck could speak freely of the Church's sacramental participation in Christ and turn to its defense against Spiritualists.

In *A Clear and Useful Instruction*, Marpeck's second Strasbourg treatise, he introduces the key to his sacramental thought: "the humanity of Christ."[57] Through Christ's "outwardness" in the Incarnation, his "inwardness" was made tangible. The Word becoming flesh was God's act of condescension to meet the creation on its own terms. He summarizes his argument thus: "The Lord Christ became a natural man for natural man."[58] Christ's humanity is prolonged in the Church, which expresses

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[54] See *Later Writings by Pilgram Marpeck and his Circle*, trans. Walter Klaassen, Werner Packull, and John Rempel (Kitchener, 1999), p. 111.

[55] See Stephen Boyd's examination of this cluster of doctrines in *Pilgram Marpeck: His Life and Social Theology* (Durham, 1992), pp. 117–121. He also summarizes Schwenckfeld's critique of Marpeck, pp. 121–125.

[56] *Later Writings by Pilgram Marpeck*, p. 106: "[W]e stand by the claim . . . that the external eating of the above mentioned forms (gestalt) is a true, inward communion of the body and blood of Christ—a true communion of believers to eternal life, including their whole humanity, spirit, soul and body."

[57] *A Clear and Useful Instruction*, in *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, trans. and ed. William Klassen and Walter Klaassen (Scottdale, 1978), pp. 76–78. See also John Rempel, *The Lord's Supper in Anabaptism* (Scottdale, 1993), pp. 108–116.

[58] Marpeck, *A Clear and Useful Instruction*, p. 85.

itself in ceremonies. The Church and its ceremonies become analogues of the Incarnation.

In the *Admonition of 1542*, Marpeck describes this reality in Trinitarian terms:

> For that which the Father does, the Son of Man does simultaneously: the Father, as Spirit, internally; the Son, as Man, externally. Therefore, the external baptism and Lord's Supper are not signs; rather, they are the external work and essence of the Son.[59]

This reciprocal quality of sacramental reality is heightened by Marpeck's introduction of the notion of "co-witness." In it, two mediums through which God is at work mutually validate God's activity.[60] In the Holy Supper, for instance, there are two aspects of co-witnessing. First, the bread and the wine bear witness with the Spirit to Christ's presence. Second, when faith responds to the Spirit, the elements become the Spirit's medium to unite Christians with Christ. There is a hint here of a metaphysical correlation between bread and wine and body and blood: when the elements are shared in faith and love they participate in the reality they represent.

In Marpeck's breaking of bread we encounter a similar ethical cruciformity of the Church to Christ's self-offering as the outcome of true communion that we saw in Hubmaier. As Marpeck writes, "[Christ] offered up his soul, his very life for us in death that we might offer up our bodies in love like his as an act of true thanksgiving with everything we possess."[61] But contrary to Hubmaier, Marpeck preserves the sacramental reality of the bread and wine as well as that of the community. For Hubmaier, the weight falls almost entirely on becoming the body of Christ. For Marpeck, the weight falls equally on receiving the body of Christ. At the same time, Marpeck intensifies the ritual expression of Christ's and the faithful's self-giving, extending their christomorphic pledge into the act of footwashing, which Marpeck calls a model of love.

As to the order of service for communion in the congregations led by the Marpeck Circle, we have only fragmentary references, written as if the reader knows what is being referred to. In "A Description of the Lord's

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[59] Marpeck, *Admonition of 1542*, in *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, p. 195.

[60] Marpeck, *Admonition of 1542*, p. 197. See also *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, pp. 387, 424.

[61] *Later Writings by Pilgram Marpeck*, p. 102; see also pp. 100, 105.

Supper," the author calls it "a bodily gathering or assembly of Christian believers who partake of communal food and drink."[62] On the following page he gives instructions for foot-washing as "a model of love." If the list on these pages is in fact an order of worship, foot-washing in Marpeck parallels the Pledge of Love in Hubmaier, both in its meaning and its role as preparation for the covenant of bread and cup. The possibility that the description is chronological is allowed for in the following wording:

> We describe communion further, and say that the bread and wine shall be eaten and drunk by all true believers as a remembrance of the Lord. Moreover, this eating and drinking is a sign of their participation in His body and blood, and represents a lasting bond of love.[63]

Twice in this section Marpeck spells out that the breaking of bread mandates that Christians shall henceforth love not only brothers and sisters but also neighbors and enemies.[64]

In his earliest extant pastoral letter from 1540, Marpeck highlights the role of the Holy Spirit in the Supper. The Spirit gives thanks in Christians on behalf of Christians in the blessing of the bread and cup. Through the blessing Christians are united in Christ's body. He concludes, "Even the human being of Jesus Christ cannot reveal the Father in himself to anyone outside this reconciliation and unity in the Holy Spirit."[65]

Dutch Anabaptism

Henrick Rol (fl. 1530–1535)

Rol was a Carmelite monk from Haarlem who is thought to have been shaped by Sacramentarianism. This was a late medieval movement in the Low Countries interwoven with communal movements like the Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. It focused on the practice of spiritual reception of the host in the Mass. When this practice was carried over into Reformation settings it lost its sacramental reference point. Rol and others like him welcomed the eucharistic thought of Zwingli and Karlstadt as a validation of their Spiritualism once they had left the Catholic

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[62] Markpeck, *Admonition of 1542*, p. 263.
[63] Marpeck, *Admonition of 1542*, p. 266.
[64] Marpeck, *Admonition of 1542*, pp. 267, 270.
[65] Marpeck, "Concerning Unity and the Bride of Christ," in *Joerg Maler's Kunstbuch*, pp. 108–109.

Church. Rol was baptized into an Anabaptist congregation early in 1534.[66] Before 1532 he had already written a substantive proto-Anabaptist treatise on the Eucharist titled, "The Key to the Secret of the Lord's Supper," which was evidence of an early encounter of Sacramentarianism with the emerging radical Reformation.[67] It marshaled exegetical arguments against transubstantiation, contrasting a "natural" and a "sacramental" body.[68] The Supper as a memorial of the Lord's death is held together with a mystical reading of 1 Corinthians 10:16 using typical bridal and wedding images, and, by allusion, John 6.[69] That is, there is a mystical encounter with Christ but its relationship to the elements and to the gathered community in not spelled out. The treatise ends with no reference to the body of Christ as the Church, either in the breaking of bread or in the life of discipleship.

Significantly, in 1533 a colleague of Rol, Bernard Rothmann, wrote *Concerning Both Sacraments*. Because this work adds an ecclesiological dimension to the Supper, it documents the next stage of theological movement from Sacramentarianism toward Anabaptism.[70] Even more significant for the evolution of an Anabaptist eucharistic theology is the fact that the Marpeck Circle took this treatise, expanded its Trinitarian, sacramental, and ecclesiological character, and published it.[71]

Melchior Hoffmann (ca. 1495–1543)

One of the most beguiling and troubling claims to arise from the Anabaptist ferment in the Netherlands was "celestial flesh Christology." Klaus Deppermann describes it as a form of historic Monophysitism.[72] Sjouke Voolstra avoids that term and locates this particular Christology in the Spiritualistic wing of the Radical Reformation. He documents a direct line of influence from Clemens Ziegler of Strasbourg and Casper

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[66] N. van der Zijpp, "Henric(k) Rol," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II, ed. Harold Bender et al. (Hillsboro, 1972), pp. 704–705.

[67] S. Cramer, "Introduction," in *Biblioteca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, vol. 5 (The Hague, 1909), 5, 16.

[68] Henrick Rol, "Die Slotel van dat Secreet des Nachmaels," in *Biblioteca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, pp. 44–49.

[69] Rol, "Die Slotel," pp. 59–68. More extravagant language is found on pp. 78–81.

[70] Bernard Rothmann, *Concerning Both Sacraments*, in *Die Schriften Bernhard. Rothmanns*, ed. Robert Stupperich, vol. 1 (Münster, 1970), pp. 138–195.

[71] Klassen and Klaassen, *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, pp. 159–302, esp. pp. 261–297.

[72] Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffmann* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 223–229.

Schwenckfeld, mystical theologian and Marpeck's nemesis, to Melchior Hoffmann, an itinerant evangelist of the end times. Hoffmann's influence shaped early Dutch Anabaptism and left an indelible mark on Menno Simons and Dirk Philips.[73] The chief intention of Hoffmann's celestial flesh teaching was to preserve the sinlessness of Christ. Its novel effect on theologies of the Lord's Supper will be shown below.

The gist of Hoffmann's form of celestial flesh Christology is that Christ had only one nature, the divine. In the Incarnation, he took unfallen, heavenly flesh into his divine nature and simply passed through Mary without taking on fallen human nature. As can be seen from Hoffmann's "The Ordinance of God," this premise works itself out in a thorough spiritualizing of the Holy Supper. With the use of images from bridegroom spirituality, the author writes that Christ gives himself to his bride by means of bread and makes himself one with her. Immediately he adds, "He did not for this reason corpor[e]ally exist in the bread."[74] Like Rol's writings, Hoffmann's lack an ecclesiological dimension.

Dirk Philips (1504–1568)

The task of fusing a celestial flesh Christology with a visible church ecclesiology was left to Dirk Philips and Menno Simons, who breathed deeply of the atmosphere Hoffmann inhabited. Philips grew up under Franciscan and Sacramentarian influence. In early adulthood he entered Anabaptism, guiding Menno Simons into the movement. Together they became the most trusted leaders of peaceful Anabaptism along the coast of the North and Baltic Seas from Bruges to Gdansk. We focus on Philips because he most revealingly grapples with the implications of the Incarnation for sacramental and ecclesial doctrine. He wants to hold onto Christ's unfallen flesh, but backs off of other aspects of Hoffmann's heterodoxy. To begin with, Philips asserts Christ's two natures in traditional language.[75] But we soon see that there is a difference: Christ's human nature remains different from humankind's in its unfallenness; as human beings partake of it,

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[73] Sjouke Voolstra, *Het Woord Is Vlees Geworden* (Kampen, n.d.), pp. 33–51.

[74] "The Ordinance of God," in *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, ed. George Hunston Williams and Angel M. Mergal (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 182–203, esp. 193–195.

[75] "The Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ," in *The Writings of Dirk Philips*, trans. and ed. Cornelius J. Dyck, William E. Keeney, and Alvin J. Beachy (Scottdale, 1992), pp. 136, 140, 147.

we are gradually divinized and our fallen nature recedes.[76] In the end, Philips's biblicism and visible church ecclesiology checks and softens the pervasive dualism of this notion. The Church breaks bread because Jesus commands it to do so in Scripture. The Church is the historical manifestation of redeemed humanity; it partakes of the world of matter that becomes the medium of salvation.[77]

These tensions work themselves out in Philips' theology of the Lord's Supper. They are presented in summary fashion in "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ."[78] There we see that only a "spiritual" understanding allows us to grasp the multiple meanings of the Eucharist: bread and wine, body and blood, fellowship of his body and memorial of his blood.[79] In passages reminiscent of John Calvin, Philips asserts that faith is necessary to receive what is offered and that Christ's presence is not physical or localized. The significance of the sacrament lies in the whole action from the initiating role of the Spirit to the response of the people. The parallel continues when Calvin writes that the bread and the wine are signs that "represent for us the invisible food that we receive from the flesh and blood of Christ."[80]

As he lays out his eucharistic thinking, Philips reinforces his exegetical forays into the Synoptics and Paul with increasing reference to the Gospel of John. This legitimates the use of realistic language without suggesting that "his natural body and blood" are in the elements.[81] With reference to 1 Corinthians 10:16, the author explains that in that fellowship Christ unites his divine self with believers, and in the process, divinizes them,[82] drawing them beyond the limits of the fallen world into the realm of a new creation. At the same time the relationship between "natural bread" and "spiritual body" is hinted at but never unambiguously described.

Philips lists three conditions for a fruitful celebration. The sacred meal is "a memorial sign of the bitter suffering, the innocent death, and shed blood of Jesus Christ."[83] The Supper is to be held only with "friends

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[76] This interpretation led the Dutch Anabaptists to a uniquely stringent understanding of a pure church.

[77] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," in *The Writings of Dirk Philips*, pp. 461–466.

[78] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," pp. 112–133.

[79] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," p. 113.

[80] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John McNeill and trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960), 2: 1360.

[81] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," pp. 120, 127.

[82] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," pp. 121–122.

[83] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," p. 123.

of God," with those who are "in conformity with Christ."[84] Finally, all are to receive a shared loaf and cup rather than bringing their own.[85] The integrity of Philips's Supper lies in the understanding that Christians are the body of Christ and must live lives in keeping with being Christians. Only when believers come to communion in that way can they receive its bounty. There is no prescribed liturgical form for worship, but its progression is described.

Bread and wine are to be set forth in a Christian assembly; the death of the Lord is to be proclaimed by a servant of the Word and taken thoroughly to heart by every Christian; and thanksgiving to God is to take place. After this, the bread is to be broken, and received and eaten by every Christian. And the wine is to be drunk with a true faith and to the memory that Christ Jesus gave his body for Christians and poured out his blood for Christians.[86]

V. The Texture of Anabaptist Thought and Practice

This study of several sacramental experiments has tried to show the significance of Christology, pneumatology, and ecclesiology for the construction of theologies of the Lord's Supper in Anabaptism.[87] These doctrines are held together most fruitfully in the writings of Pilgram Marpeck. By means of his Christology and pneumatology, Marpeck preserves the presence of Christ in both natures in the church, and by extension, in the Supper, through the agency of the Spirit. In Balthasar Hubmaier's formulation, the sacramental dimension, that is, the meeting point of spirit and matter, is displaced from the elements to the community. The Spirit works inwardly and the community works outwardly in the breaking of bread. In Marpeck's understanding, it is the Son who works outwardly.

Dirk Philips begins with a figurative understanding of the words of institution and makes the Supper the paradigmatic place where believers can meet Christ in the sense portrayed in John 6, that is, the place that most fully confirms the believer's relationship with Christ. Yet Philips nowhere specifies the nature of the relationship between spirit and matter. This

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[84] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," pp. 128–129.

[85] Perhaps this is a veiled allusion to 1 Corinthians 11:20–22.

[86] "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," p. 112.

[87] For a summary of their influence on later Mennonite thought and practice, see Rempel, *The Lord's Supper in Anabaptism*, pp. 201–213.

spiritualistic disposition that still has a tenuous sacramental dimension is challenged by his fellow radicals who are consistent enough in their position that they deprive all visible, material realities, including the Bible and the Church, of a role in salvation.

The logic of this outcome, which Marpeck had recognized early in his ministry, prodded Philips late in his ministry to accord some significance to bread and wine as symbols that participate in what they symbolize. Despite their differences, the point of their greatest creativity and power is the christomorphic bond Hubmaier and Marpeck assert between worship and mission, thanksgiving and discipleship. Just as Christ offered himself for Christians, so Christians now offer each to one another, to neighbors, and to enemies. In other words, the crucified Christ becomes the bread of life for those who were his enemies (Romans 5:10) and who now gather around his table. When Christians return to the world, they become the bread of life to those who are enemies.

This stance is implied in Philips's understanding of the Church. Surprisingly for someone representing a communalist understanding of the church, Walpot makes very little of this christomorphism. It is absent in the proto-Anabaptist writing of Rol, whose concern is to preserve a mystical encounter with Christ without Catholicism's sacramental structure. In his very limited writing on the Eucharist, Hoffmann, too, is concerned with mystical experience and not communal transformation. In a study of Anabaptist eucharistic theologies, Hoffmann merits mention not because of his theology of the Supper but as a cautionary tale, because his celestial flesh Christology had such a wide spiritualistic influence on the Radical Reformation. He was the heir to a spiritualistic corrective to perceived Catholic externality but turned a corrective into a norm. Philips took over much of Hoffmann's Christology and realized gradually that it stood over against his belief in a visible Church that has a dominical command to use visible signs.

Two additional characteristics of an Anabaptist Supper, as examined in this study, deserve mention. One of them is the memorial dimension. It has not been studied in this essay not because it is not integral to the subject at hand, but because it is woven into many arguments and was not contested by any of the parties in the sixteenth-century debate. The Anabaptists, in fact, gave the remembrance of the suffering and sacrifice of Christ heightened importance, because it was the foundation for their personal experience of regeneration: Christ had died for them, Christ lived in them. The second characteristic is that the Gospel of John, and not the

Synoptics or the Epistles of Paul, is the preeminent source of Anabaptist eucharistic thought. From this focus comes the notion of Christ's ascent and the Spirit's descent, union with Christ, the Supper as a meal of love, and foot-washing as the prototypical enactment of that love.

Anabaptists were not able to resolve in principle the vast question of the relationship between spirit and matter in the economy of salvation. However, in their experience of receiving and being the body of Christ, both theologians and ordinary Christians came to believe that Christ becomes tangible when bread and wine are shared and when those who have received their fill become bread and wine for the world.

ANGLICAN THEOLOGIES OF THE EUCHARIST

James F. Turrell

The theological debates on the Eucharist in England both echoed and differed from those on the Continent. After 1550 there was a broad consensus among English Evangelicals concerning two issues in eucharistic theology: eucharistic presence and the nature of sacrifice. Beginning with Thomas Cranmer's liturgical work, the Church of England held that Christ was not present corporeally in the Eucharist, and most writers asserted that there was not presence located in the bread and the wine themselves. There was also agreement that the Eucharist was not a sacrifice as it had been understood in medieval theology, as a reiteration of Jesus's sacrifice on the cross, but rather it was a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving offered to God. Theological disagreement about the Eucharist—as distinct from disagreement over practices—centered primarily on whether it (and sacraments in general) were instruments of grace, and thereby efficacious in and of themselves. This controversy over sacramental efficacy did not break neatly along party lines.

Conservative Eucharistic Theology under Henry VIII

The reformation in the reign of Henry VIII was fairly conservative, and sacramental theology was largely unchanged at the official level. The various official doctrinal statements published in Henry's reign endorsed, with some nuances, a realistic understanding of the presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine. The Ten Articles of 1536, which represented a sort of doctrinal high-water mark for the Evangelicals in Henry's reign, nonetheless described a corporeal presence:

> Under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in

> the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament. . .[1]

The Ten Articles were noteworthy more for what they did not say: they did not affirm transubstantiation. There was some ambiguity about the precise manner of the presence, and under the Articles one might plausibly hold a Lutheran understanding of the eucharistic presence, in which the consecrated bread and wine remain bread and wine while simultaneously comprehending the real, corporeal body and blood of Christ. This ambiguity was removed three years later, in the Act of Six Articles. These endorsed transubstantiation:

> First, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest), is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.[2]

The King's Book of 1543 did not go into such detail, but it too described a realistic presence, in which the substance of the bread and wine were changed.[3]

Radical Rethinking under Edward VI

After Henry's death and the accession of Edward VI, Evangelicals gained the upper hand at court. Initially, though, Cranmer and his allies proceeded with caution, making liturgical revisions in stages: first, through the publications of a supplemental text to be used along with the existing Mass, then with an interim prayer book (the 1549 Book of Common Prayer), and finally in the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, which most closely represented their views of the sacraments.

Cranmer's own theology of the Eucharist developed over time. For a period, his conceptualization of the Eucharist was fairly "Lutheran," holding that the bread and the wine did not change in substance but became at once both the bread and the wine and the body and the blood, with a

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[1] Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis, 1994), p. 169.

[2] Bray, *Documents*, p. 224.

[3] *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man sette forthe by the kynges maieste of England* (London, 1543), n.p.; Gordon P. Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promise: Thomas Cranmer's Sacramental Theology and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 2008), p. 85.

real presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements. In the 1530s Cranmer used the phrase "true presence," which Diarmaid MacCulloch sees as an effort to articulate a theology separate from that of both Huldrych Zwingli on the one hand and Catholicism on the other.[4] At this point, Cranmer appeared to believe in a corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine, but to reject the scholastic theory of transubstantiation, by which the substance of the bread and the wine was replaced by the substance of the body and the blood.[5] But this "Lutheran" phase did not last, and by 1547 Cranmer rejected the idea of a corporeal presence entirely.[6]

Shortly after Henry's death, Cranmer produced the first liturgical text to reflect his new eucharistic theology. The 1548 Order of Communion, a vernacular insertion into the Latin Mass, included an exhortation, a confession of sin, the Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access, and words of administration (to accompany the communion of the laity). Theologically, the Order appeared to move away from a theology of the real presence, by using the adverb "spiritually" to describe the manner in which the believer ate Christ's body and drank his blood.[7]

The first Book of Common Prayer, published in 1549, quickly replaced the Order of Communion. It was the work of several hands, but Thomas Cranmer was the chief architect. He probably intended it from the first as an interim measure, turning very quickly after its release to the production of its successor.[8] The 1549 prayer book therefore should not be read as a reflection of Cranmer's own eucharistic theology, as much as the effort of a practical liturgist to construct a transitional rite.

The 1549 book was, from a structural standpoint, fairly conservative in its eucharistic rite, following the order of the Sarum Mass that had been

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[4] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, 1996), p. 182; see also Peter Newman Brooks, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist: An Essay in Historical Development*, 2nd ed. (London, 1992), pp. 46–55.

[5] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 232–234; Brooks, *Cranmer's Doctrine*, pp. 12–15, 21–37. On medieval understandings of transubstantiation, see Gary Macy's contribution to this volume. On Trent's definition, see the contribution by Robert J. Daly, S.J.

[6] MacCulloch notes that it is very difficult to date the shift in Cranmer's thinking, which may have happened as early as 1546. See MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 354–355.

[7] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 385–386; cf. Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promises*, pp. 111–113. Jeanes argues that Cranmer's move away from a theology of real presence came later in his career, see *Signs of God's Promises*, pp. 125–130. In any case, by late 1548, Cranmer's speech in the debate in the House of Lords on eucharistic theology clearly rejected the real presence. See Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promises*, p. 135.

[8] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 396–397, 414–417, 504.

in use in the realm.[9] Cranmer made important alterations, however, to bring it into closer alignment with his eucharistic theology. The Sarum Mass had offered four things to God in the course of the liturgy (bread and wine, thanksgiving, the Church, and Christ himself), while the 1549 book offered only two (praise and thanksgiving, plus the self-offering of the faithful).[10] There was no oblation of the gifts, something that would not return to Anglicanism until the liturgical revisions of the Scottish Nonjurors in the eighteenth century. Also, Cranmer described Christ's sacrifice as "his one oblation, once offered," to remove any possibility of interpreting the liturgy as offering Christ again upon the altar.[11] While there was a concept of sacrifice at work in the Eucharist, it was strictly a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving."[12]

Some medieval elements remained. The priest was instructed to take the bread and cup in his hands at the words of institution over each, and then to make the sign of the cross over each at the invocation of the Holy Spirit (in liturgical terminology, the *epiclesis*).[13] These manual actions served to highlight both the petition for consecration in the *epiclesis* and the words of institution, which medieval theology had held to be the consecratory formula. Also, the words accompanying the administration of the sacrament could be interpreted as implying that the bread and the wine were the body and the blood: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."[14] Cranmer's own view was that the bread and the wine were symbolic of the body and the blood of Christ and that reception of the physical elements by the faithful was accompanied by reception of the spiritual body and blood; this formula was not incompatible with that interpretation. Nevertheless, it could also be read by traditionalists as supporting a view that held that the body and the blood were present in or under the bread and the wine. This, in fact, is what Stephen Gardiner, the conservative bishop of Winchester and a rival of Cranmer, asserted in his *Explication*

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[9] Liturgical scholars distinguish between "rite" and "use;" the "Sarum Use" was the local adaptation and variation on the "Roman Rite" that was predominant in Western Europe. Thus, one may speak of the Mass as used at the Reformation as being both "Sarum" and "Roman" or "Western."

[10] Frederick E. Warren, trans. and ed., *The Sarum Missal in English* (London, 1913), pp. 42–47; *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI* (London, 1999), p. 223; see also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 413–414.

[11] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 222.

[12] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 223.

[13] *First and Second Prayer Books*, pp. 222–223.

[14] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 225.

and assertion of the Catholic Faith touching the most blessed sacrament of the altar, to Cranmer's great consternation.[15]

In 1550, writing in the *Answer . . . unto a craftie and sophisticall cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner*, Cranmer set forth his mature understanding of the Eucharist. Sacraments in general, and the Eucharist in particular, served an instructive function: they "showeth and preacheth" that God was at work in the "godly receiver." "[A]s the bread is outwardly eaten indeed in the Lord's supper, so is the very body of Christ inwardly by faith eaten indeed of all of them that come thereto in such sort as they ought to do."[16] Sacraments functioned as "sensible signs and tokens whereby to allure and to draw us to more strength and more constant faith in him."[17]

Indeed, just as the function of the sacrament was to strengthen faith, so also the recipient partook of it strictly by faith:

> The spiritual meat of Christ's body and blood is not received in the mouth and digested in the stomach (as corporal meats and drinks commonly be) but it is received with a pure heart and a sincere faith. And the true eating and drinking of the said body and blood of Christ is, with a constant and lively faith to believe, that Christ gave his body, and shed his blood upon the cross for us, and that he doth so join and incorporate himself to us, that he is our head, and we his members . . . And this faith God worketh inwardly in our hearts by his holy Spirit, and confirmeth the same outwardly to our ears by hearing of his word, and to our other senses by eating and drinking of the sacramental bread and wine in his holy supper.[18]

The beneficial effects of the Eucharist were therefore limited to the believer; there was no *manducatio impiorum* (eating by unbelievers).

This was supported by a careful distinction Cranmer drew between the bread and the body of Christ. "The sacrament (that is to say, the bread) is corpor[e]ally eaten and chewed with the teeth in the mouth: the very body [of Christ] is eaten and chewed with faith in the spirit. Ungodly men, when they receive the sacrament, they chew in their mouths, like unto Judas, the sacramental bread, but they eat not the celestial bread, which is

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[15] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 486.

[16] Thomas Cranmer, "An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation devised by Stephen Gardiner," in *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr 1556, Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge, 1844), p. 17.

[17] Cranmer, "An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation," p. 42.

[18] Cranmer, "An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation," p. 43.

Christ."[19] Christ is "not corpor[e]ally in the bread and wine" but is "effectually present," in the godly communicant, "to whom he giveth his own flesh spiritually to feed upon" as the communicant eats the bread.[20]

The presence of Christ in the Eucharist, then, was not in the bread and wine, but in the "ministration of the sacrament," in the action of the eating.[21] The consecration of the bread and wine worked no change in them, but rather set them aside for a holy use.[22] In this way, there was a sort of parallel between the two sacraments, baptism and Eucharist: in each, the physical stuff (water, bread, and wine) was consecrated and used in the performance of the sacrament, but it was in no way changed in itself. As MacCulloch has underscored, in Cranmer's view, the benefits of communion were received in parallel with the bread and the wine, but the bread and the wine were not in themselves instruments of grace, a position analogous to Heinrich Bullinger's "symbolic parallelism."[23]

Along with adopting this limited view of eucharistic presence, Cranmer redefined the eucharistic sacrifice. He categorically rejected the idea that the Eucharist was a propitiatory sacrifice, noting that the Last Supper was distinct from Christ's death on the cross the next day. Instead, the Eucharist was a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving the faithful offered to God.[24]

Cranmer's second prayer book was a better representation of his theology, and its substantial modifications to the eucharistic liturgy shaped English worship and theology for centuries. In the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, Cranmer removed much of the conservative material that had survived in the 1549 revision, and he reordered the liturgy to break up the structure of the eucharistic prayer. Gone were the manual acts of the 1549 book, as well as the words of administration that appeared to describe the bread and the wine as body and blood. Gone as well was the *epiclesis*, the petition for consecration that carried with it the implication that the Holy Spirit might change the bread and the wine. The

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[19] Cranmer, "An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation," p. 70.

[20] Cranmer, "An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation," pp. 34–36.

[21] Cranmer, "An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation," p. 74.

[22] Cranmer, "An Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation," p. 180.

[23] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 614–615. MacCulloch uses B.A. Gerrish's categories of symbolic memorialism (associated with Huldrych Zwingli), symbolic parallelism (associated with Heinrich Bullinger), and symbolic instrumentalism (associated with Calvin). On Zwingli and Bullinger's understandings of the Eucharist, see Carrie Euler's contribution to this volume.

[24] Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promises*, pp. 217–218; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 465.

description of the Eucharist as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving and the self-oblation of the faithful were both shifted after the reception of communion, to become an alternative post-communion prayer. Thus, it was possible to avoid any suggestion that something was offered to God in or through the Eucharist. Instead, one moved directly from the words of institution to the communion of the people, which was followed by the Lord's Prayer (it had preceded the communion in the more traditional 1549 structure) with its thanks for "daily bread."[25] No one experiencing the 1552 prayer book's eucharistic rite could have mistaken it for the traditional liturgy, and there was nothing left in the liturgical text to imply a corporeal presence of Christ in the bread and wine. Indeed, Cranmer added a rubric directing that any leftover bread and wine be given to the minister "for his own use": the leftovers from communion might furnish the curate's Sunday dinner, underscoring that the bread and the wine were unchanged.[26] Cranmer's mature theology of the Eucharist—holding that the bread and the wine were not changed, but set aside for a holy use—was given clear expression in the 1552 prayer book.

The evolution of Cranmer's eucharistic theology had been influenced by his dialogue with Nicholas Ridley, who served as his chaplain before later becoming a bishop in his own right. Cranmer credited Ridley with leading him to his mature view of the Eucharist.[27] In an early treatise on abuses of the Mass, Ridley had attacked traditional theology and practice. He claimed that reception of the eucharist could benefit no one other than the receiver, the "oblation and sacrifice" of the Mass could be said to exist only insofar as it was a "representation and commemoration of Christ's death and passion," the laity should no longer be prevented from receiving at the Mass, chantries and Masses for souls in purgatory should be discontinued, and everything should be done in the vernacular.[28] In a treatise written while imprisoned under Mary Tudor, awaiting trial and execution, Ridley set forth his eucharistic theology at greater length. The Lord's Supper was, in his view, a "perpetual rememberance [sic]," but one that "far passeth all kinds of rememberances that any other man is able to make, either of himself, or of any other thing: for whosoever receiveth this holy sacrament thus ordained in rememberance of Christ,

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[25] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 390.
[26] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 392.
[27] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 355.
[28] Nicholas Ridley, "Answers to Certain Queries Touching the Abuses of the Mass," in *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D.*, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 316–318.

he receiveth therewith either death or life."[29] Citing Paul's warning against unworthy reception in 1 Corinthians, Ridley argued that those who partook of the Eucharist unworthily invited damnation. Indeed, just as only the living benefitted from natural food, only those who are "regenerated and born of God before" could reap any benefit from reception of communion.[30] While the bread was no longer ordinary bread, nor the wine ordinary wine, it was not changed in substance. The "natural substance" of the bread remained, after consecration, that of bread, and therefore there was no such thing as transubstantiation. By extension, it was improper to venerate or adore the consecrated bread and wine, the wicked did not receive the body and blood of Christ when they ate the bread and drank the wine, and the priest did not offer Christ's body on the altar in a sacrifice.[31] Instead, the bread—while remaining bread in its substance—became "by grace, and in a sacramental significance, [Christ's] body."[32] To support his position, Ridley cited the varying accounts of the Last Supper in the Synoptic gospels and Paul's letters, and he offered a subtle analysis of the words of institution, arguing that they were to be taken as "figurative speech."[33] Ridley also relied on three Eastern and three Western patristic authors (Origen, Theodoret, and John Chrysostom from the East; Tertullian, Augustine, and Gelasius from the West) to advance his position. Chrysostom, for example, had asserted that the consecrated bread of the eucharist "is delivered now from the name of bread, and esteemed worthy to be called Christ's body, although the nature of bread tarry in it still," a view that neatly lined up with Ridley's own.[34] Augustine had, at points, described the Last Supper as the "figure" of Christ's body and elsewhere asserted that Christ's "natural body" was in heaven, while his divine nature remained with his followers; this supported Ridley's assertion that the bread and the wine could not be Christ's physical body and blood.[35]

Nevertheless, while the bread and the wine remained unchanged, Ridley asserted "that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and

[29] Nicholas Ridley, "Brief Declaration or Treatise against Transubstantiation," in *Works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 8.
[30] Ridley, "Brief Declaration," p. 9.
[31] Ridley, "Brief Declaration," pp. 11–12, 15.
[32] Ridley, "Brief Declaration," p. 15.
[33] Ridley, "Brief Declaration," pp. 18–22, 26–27.
[34] Ridley, "Brief Declaration," p. 34.
[35] Ridley, "Brief Declaration," pp. 42–43.

faithful the grace of Christ's body."[36] Christ was not corporeally present in the bread and the wine, but was nevertheless present in the sacrament "in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication and by grace."[37] The bread and the wine remained bread and wine, but they were made

> a lively representation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectually representeth his body; that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread.[38]

Ridley's thinking was deeply influenced by his reading of Ratramnus, a ninth-century monk who had argued that the substance of bread and wine remained after consecration, and that the nature of the sacrament was figurative.[39] At the disputation in 1555 that branded him a heretic, Ridley cited Ratramnus (whom he knew as Bertram): "This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter."[40] Ratramnus's treatise, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, was translated into English and published in 1548 as *The boke of Barthram priest intreatinge of the bodye and bloude of Christ*, no doubt to bolster Evangelical arguments on eucharistic theology.[41]

Eucharistic Theology in the Church of Elizabeth and James

The death of Edward VI and accession of Mary to the throne in 1553 meant that the English church officially abandoned Evangelical theology and practice and returned to the Roman Catholic fold. The Latin Mass was revived. Leading Evangelicals went into exile, prison, or retirement, and

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[36] Nicholas Ridley, "Disputation at Oxford," in *Works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 201.

[37] Ridley, "Disputation," pp. 213, 222.

[38] Nicholas Ridley, "The Order and Manner of the Examination of Dr. Ridley had the thirtieth day of September 1555 before the Queen's Commissioners," in *Works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 274.

[39] Nicholas Ridley, "A Conference between Nicholas Ridley, Sometime Bishop of London, and Secretary Bourn . . .," in *Works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 159.

[40] Ridley, "Disputation," p. 206.

[41] [Ratramnus of Corbie], *The boke of Barthram priest intreatinge of the bodye and bloude of Christ wryten to greate Charles the Emperoure, and set forth. vii.C. yeares a goo. and imprinted. an. d*[*omi*]*ni M.D.XLviii. Cum preuilegio, ad imprimendum solum* (London, 1548).

a few (such as Cranmer and Ridley) were executed. Rank-and-file Evangelicals were eventually subjected to violent persecution and a number burned for heresy. Upon Mary's death and the accession of her half-sister Elizabeth to the throne in November 1558, Protestants regained control of the church. After one failed attempt with an omnibus bill, the Parliament approved the restoration of royal supremacy and a new Book of Common Prayer in what has come to be called the "Elizabethan Settlement" of religion.[42]

The 1559 Book of Common Prayer was a thoroughly Protestant book. It used as its frame the 1552 prayer book, with its fragmented eucharistic rite. The only concession to more traditionalist piety came in an alteration of the words of administration.[43] The new book combined the formula used in 1552 with that used in 1549, to read "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life: and take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving."[44] Yet the concession was less than it might seem: even Reformed thinkers such as Cranmer allowed the possibility of a spiritual reception of the body and blood simultaneous with the reception of the bread and wine; the chief concern was to deny any local presence of body and blood *in* the bread and the wine.

Conformists within the Elizabethan church generally held for a sort of presence of Christ in the eucharistic action, but they took great pains to avoid implying that the nature or substance of the bread and the wine changed at all. Theologians often framed the positive aspects of their arguments around remembrance and faith. John Jewel described the eucharist in his *Apology of the Church of England* as "an evident token of the body and blood of Christ, wherein is set, as it were, before our eyes the death of Christ and his resurrection," so that the recipient might " give thanks for his death and for our deliverance" and "daily renew the remembrance of that matter, to the intent we, being fed with the body and blood of Christ, may be brought into the hope of the resurrection and of everlasting life."[45]

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[42] The authoritative treatment of the "Elizabethan Settlement" is Norman L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London, 1982).

[43] G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London, 1969), p. 122.

[44] John E. Booty, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer 1559* (Charlottesville, VA, 1976), p. 264.

[45] John Jewel, *An Apology of the Church of England*, ed. J.E. Booty (Ithaca, NY, 1963), p. 32.

Jewel rejected the idea that the Mass can benefit the dead, and he asserted that those who received communion without faith received nothing.[46]

Jewel carefully avoided locating the presence of Christ in the bread and the wine, even as he described them as being the means by which the faithful received Christ. The bread and wine were "holy and heavenly mysteries" of the body and blood of Christ, by which Christ was given to the believer. Jewel asserted that there was no change in the nature of the bread and the wine.[47] Yet

> Christ does truly and presently give himself wholly . . . in his supper, that we may eat him by faith and spirit and have everlasting life by his cross and blood . . . For, although we do not touch the body of Christ with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast and eat him by faith, and with spirit.[48]

In this, Jewel was in harmony with Cranmer, as both asserted a spiritual (as opposed to corporeal) presence of Christ in the action of the Supper, a presence that could only be received by faith.

Jewel's *Apology* had semi-official status within the church. His views on the Eucharist were acceptable to both conformists and puritans, who found the English church to be only half reformed. Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's and author of an influential catechism, went further than most, portraying the Eucharist as an efficacious sign of grace. Nowell thus held a position close to John Calvin's "symbolic instrumentalism," in which the Eucharist becomes an instrument or means for God's action, though the bread and the wine themselves do not effect anything.[49] While puritans dissented from several liturgical practices in the prayer book's communion rite, and some rejected the use of a set form of prayer at all, they did not differ sharply from conformist eucharistic theology. Dudley Fenner, a puritan divine, saw the eucharistic elements of bread and wine as instruments by which the Holy Spirit conveyed the body and blood of Christ. For Fenner, Christ was present in the eucharistic action, though not located in the bread and the wine itself.[50] William Perkins, the

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[46] Jewel, *An Apology of the Church*, p. 36.

[47] Jewel, *An Apology of the Church*, p. 33. Jewel cited in support Ambrose, Theodoret, and Gelasius, who argued that the substance of the bread and the wine was not changed.

[48] Jewel, *An Apology of the Church*, p. 34.

[49] Bryan Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines: Sacramental Theology and Liturgy in England and Scotland, 1603–1662* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 6–7, 20. Nicholas Wolterstorff, in his contribution to this volume, underscores that for Calvin it is the performative action of the Eucharist, and not the inert bread and wine themselves, that constitutes the symbol that God uses as an instrument.

[50] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, p. 21.

influential puritan theologian, saw sacraments as "visible words," serving as an instrument to confirm faith. They did not in themselves convey grace, but could increase grace in the believer. Bryan Spinks sees in Perkins "symbolic parallelism" and "symbolic memorialism" (the latter linked to Huldrych Zwingli, the former often ascribed to Thomas Cranmer).[51] Perkins saw the Eucharist as sacrificial insofar as it was a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice.[52] He also framed the Eucharist (and sacraments in general) as a seal of the covenant of grace, by which Christ and his benefits are given to those who by faith would receive him. Predestination to election was the necessary prerequisite for being in that covenant, and therefore the sacraments were only for the elect. The reprobate might receive the bare signs (the bread and the wine), but because they did not receive the thing signified (Christ), they did not truly partake of a sacrament.[53]

One conformist theologian deserves particular attention, not because of his importance in the Elizabethan period, but because of the use of his works in subsequent generations. Richard Hooker's reputation as the preeminent early modern Anglican theologian is a posthumous invention—in life, he was eclipsed by Perkins, his contemporary. But Hooker's massive treatise, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, proved very influential in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the leadership of the Church of England searched for a non-Laudian theology to refute the Calvinism of the puritans and the Commonwealth.[54]

Sacraments were for Hooker "bondes of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutuall exercise of Christian charitie, provocations to godlines, preservations from synne, memorials of the principall benefits of

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[51] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, pp. 2–4, 22–23; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 614–615. Spinks uses "symbolic memorialism" to describe Zwingli's view of the sacrament; Carrie Euler emphasizes that this is not a "mere" memorial, and that Zwingli saw Christ as spiritually present to the believer through the celebration of the sacrament.

[52] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, p. 23.

[53] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, pp. 35–36; Bryan Spinks, *Two Faces of Elizabethan Anglican Theology: Sacraments and Salvation in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker* (Lanham, MD, 1999), pp. 61–92.

[54] Spinks, *Two Faces of Elizabethan Anglican Theology*, p. 3; Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?: Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), pp. 227–229.

Christ . . . markes of distinction to separate Godes own from strangers" and therefore "necessarie."[55] Their chief benefit, though, was that they were

> heavenlie ceremonies, which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church, first as markes whereby to knowe when God doth imparte the vitall or savinge grace of Christe unto all that are capable thereof, and secondlie as meanes conditionall which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth grace.[56]

In contrast to those puritans whose view of the sacraments portrayed them as little more than visual sermons, for Hooker they were "the powerfull instrumentes of God to eternall life."[57] The language of "instruments" and the notion that sacraments are required by God marked a different sacramental theology than that held by the likes of Perkins, similar to the symbolic instrumentalism ascribed to John Calvin (though not his followers), in which sacraments brought about a present reality.[58]

Hooker's position was far removed from Catholicism. Grace accompanied the sacraments and was their chief end, but grace was not contained within the sacraments or sacramental elements.[59] Also, for Hooker the sacraments were the *ordinary* means of grace, but God could presumably convey grace otherwise, if he chose to do so. Finally, it was God, and not the sacrament, that conveyed that grace.[60] Nevertheless, Hooker still had a more robust view of the sacraments' function than many. For Hooker, the sacraments are not "bare resemblances or memorials of thinges absent," nor are they "naked signes and testimonies assuringe us of grace received before," but they are "means effectuall whereby God when we take the sacraments delivereth into our handes that grace available unto eternall life, which grace the sacramentes represent or signifie."[61]

While his views of sacramental efficacy were a departure from the mainstream, Hooker held conventional positions on eucharistic presence and sacrifice. He asserted that the bread and the wine are termed "body" and "blood" because they are the instrumental means by which one may

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[55] Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, ed. W. Speed Hill, 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1977), 2: 245.

[56] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 245–246.

[57] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 208.

[58] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 614–615.

[59] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 246.

[60] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 246–247; see also W. David Neelands, "Christology and the Sacraments," in *A Companion to Richard Hooker*, ed. W.J. Torrance Kirby (Leiden, 2008), p. 386.

[61] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 247.

participate in Christ's body and blood; nevertheless, the substance or nature of the bread and the wine remain unchanged.[62] "The reall presence of Christes most blessed bodie and bloode is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthie receiver of the sacrament."[63] Indeed, Hooker argued, all sides in contemporary debates over the Eucharist agreed in this much: that the sacrament was "a true and a reall participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth him selfe even his whole intire person as a mysticall head unto everie soule that receiveth him, and that everie such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite him selfe unto Christ as a mysticall member of him."[64] Hooker therefore dismissed the charges against some that they reduced the Eucharist to a "bare sign;" he also rejected transubstantiation as something without scriptural foundation.[65] In contrast to Cranmer, who argued that only Christ's divine nature was present in the Eucharist (and in a spiritual sense only), Hooker framed eucharistic presence in terms of the Incarnation, so that Christ's human nature participated in the sacraments no less than his divine nature.[66]

The death of Elizabeth and accession of James I brought no radical shifts in the church's liturgy or liturgical theology. James issued a new prayer book in 1604, but it involved only modest changes to the text of the 1559 book (and therefore was quite similar to the 1552 prayer book). The covenant theology evident in William Perkins's discussion of sacraments became more predominant in theological discussion, but most puritans and conformists otherwise held to accepted positions. Arthur Hildersham, a nonconforming puritan minister, described sacraments as "visible words" and "seals of the covenant of grace," from which they drew their efficacy.[67] The Eucharist nourished and confirmed the faith of the believer, serving as a commemoration of Christ's one-time sacrifice on the cross.[68] The conformist John Downame held a similar view. For him, the Eucharist confirmed and strengthened faith, and it served as a "seal" of God's covenant with the believer, enabling the believer to renew the covenant.[69] William Attersoll, a conforming puritan, described sacraments as seals of the covenant that served to strengthen faith. Christ was

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[62] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 334.
[63] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 334.
[64] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 335–336.
[65] Hooker, *Of the Laws*, 2: 336.
[66] Neelands, "Christology and the Sacrament," p. 383.
[67] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, pp. 37–38.
[68] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, p. 39.
[69] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, p. 42.

not present in the physical elements of bread and wine, but was present in the Eucharist in a spiritual manner.[70]

Ceremonialists and Eucharistic Theology under Charles I

On the questions of presence and sacrifice, the Elizabethan consensus persisted into the first half of the seventeenth century, even among those who pressed beyond mainstream conformist liturgical practices. These avant-garde conformists are typically labeled "Laudians," for William Laud; because the orientation predates Laud's rise to power, it might be better to term them "ceremonialists." These ceremonialists, despite piety and practices that implied a "popish" eucharistic theology to their opponents, stayed largely within the Elizabethan frame.

Laud himself was fairly careful in his discussions of eucharistic presence to avoid endorsing transubstantiation or a corporeal presence. One finds his thinking set forth in a number of contexts, but chiefly in his "Conference with Fisher the Jesuit" and in writings defending the 1637 Scottish prayer book. Laud's thinking was shaped in large measure by his deference to the example of the early church, which he treated alongside scripture as a source of norms for the church of his day. This deference shaped his defense of the Scottish prayer book. While he asserted that there was nothing wrong with the English prayer book of his day, he admired the Scottish book's divergent liturgical structure for its fidelity to the early church.[71]

Laud argued that there was a sacrifice in the Eucharist, but not of the sort imagined by medieval theology. He argued that there were three sacrifices offered: "the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death represented in bread broken and wine poured out," offered by the priest; "the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" for the benefits of Christ's death, offered by priest and people together; and "the sacrifice of every man's body and soul, to serve Him in both all the rest of his life," offered by each member

[70] William Attersoll, *The Badges of Christianity, or, a Treatise of the Sacraments…* (London, 1606), pp. 58–60, 232–251, 290–295, 299–300; Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, pp. 43–45.

[71] William Laud, "The History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God and blessed martyr, William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury wrote by himself during his imprisonment in the Tower," in *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D.*, ed. James Bliss and William Scott, 7 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847–1849), 3: 334.

individually.[72] At no point, though, was the body and blood offered to God; Christ was not sacrificed again in the Eucharist. Laud drew a careful distinction between a memorial of a sacrifice and the sacrifice itself.

The bread and wine of the Eucharist became "spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ," but there was no corporeal presence, nor was there any change in the substance of the bread and wine.[73] Indeed, Laud attacked the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation as something that could not be proved from scripture nor found in patristic authors.[74] Laud instead affirmed a "real presence . . . after a mysterious, and indeed an ineffable, manner."[75] In the sacrament, the worthy receiver was, by faith, "made spiritually partaker of the 'true and real Body and Blood of Christ, truly and really,' and of all the benefits of His passion."[76] Laud appeared not to locate Christ's presence in any particular place.

Laud's younger contemporary, John Cosin, was slightly less guarded in his description of the Eucharist. Cosin asserted that the church had always asserted a "mystic and sacramental" presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and argued that the believer took part in a "spiritual (and yet no less true and undoubted than if it were corporeal) eating of Christ's Flesh."[77] Cosin argued, "there is a conversion of the bread into the Body (and consequently of the wine into the Blood) of Christ." Yet when he elaborated on this, Cosin sounded surprisingly like Cranmer. He explained, "The condition, use, and office, of the bread is wholly changed; that is, of common and ordinary, it becomes our mystical and sacramental food; whereby . . . the true Body of Christ is not only shadowed and figured, but also given indeed, and by worthy communicants truly received." This change meant no change in substance, and so consecration resembled Cranmer's definition, in which something is set aside for a holy use, even if Cosin was less than cautious in his assertion of presence.[78]

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[72] William Laud, "A Relation of the Conference between William Laud, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit," in The *Works of the Most Reverend Father*, 2: 340–341.

[73] Laud, "History of the Troubles," 3: 356.

[74] Laud, "Conference with Fisher," 2: 306, 364, 376–377.

[75] Laud, "Conference with Fisher," 2: 323.

[76] Laud, "Conference with Fisher," 2: 320–321.

[77] John Cosin, "History of Transubstantiation," in *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham*, ed. James Bliss, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1843–1855), 4: 156.

[78] Cosin, "History of Transubstantiation," 4: 172.

Like Laud, Cosin rejected transubstantiation as having no foundation in scripture or in the tradition of the early church.[79] Nevertheless, Cosin was on one point more avant-garde than Laud. Cosin located the Body of Christ in the bread itself, "though in some manner veiled under the sacrament, so that of itself it cannot be seen." There was a "sacramental union of the Body and Blood of Christ with the sacred bread and wine, so that both are really and substantially received together."[80] By eating the bread and drinking the wine, one ate and drank the body and blood of Christ "not in a corpor[e]al manner, but some other way, incomprehensible, known only to God, which we call spiritual."[81] This presence was intended only for consumption in communion. The bread and wine were not to be carried about or venerated, and the leftovers could therefore be given to the curate for his own use, as they did not remain holy after the communion service.[82] Indeed, Cosin took pains to limit eucharistic adoration: one who came to the sacrament in faith, at the time of reception "rightly doth he adore and reverence his Saviour there together with the sacramental Bread and Cup, exhibiting His own Body and Blood unto them." But because the body and blood were present only to the believer who was "duly prepared" and were present only in the "very act of receiving them and the consecrated elements together, to which they are sacramentally in that act united," eucharistic adoration was really adoration of Christ himself. It could not be given to any "external sensible object, such as are the blessed elements."[83] It was as if the presence of Christ occurred in the bread and wine only at the instant of communion—a very limited notion of presence, which managed to fit within the Cranmerian view that focused on the reception of the Eucharist as its reason for being and as the moment at which one might speak of body and blood. But Cosin's version of eucharistic presence was nevertheless a presence located within the bread, a view that other conformists had avoided.

Cosin argued that the Eucharist was not a mere commemoration, because Christ's body and blood are present in the Eucharist for all who

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[79] Cosin, "History of Transubstantiation," 4: 178, 181, 229.
[80] Cosin, "History of Transubstantiation," 4: 175.
[81] Cosin, "History of Transubstantiation," 4: 170.
[82] Cosin, "History of Transubstantiation," 4: 174; John Cosin, "Notes and Collections on the Book of Common Prayer," in *The Works of the Right Reverend Father*, 5: 356–357.
[83] Cosin, "Notes," 5: 345.

receive it. But he rejected the idea that the Eucharist was a propitiatory sacrifice, which would require Christ to be killed again and again.[84] Instead, making a careful distinction, it was a "plain oblation of Christ's death once offered, and a representative sacrifice of it, for the sins, and for the benefit, of the whole world, of the whole Church."[85] Christ was killed once, and therefore the Eucharist was not propitiatory, but representative, an effort to ask God to "make Christ's bloody sacrifice effectual unto us."[86] Cosin therefore went beyond earlier conformists by articulating a local presence of the body and blood of Christ within the consecrated bread and wine itself, yet he nevertheless rejected transubstantiation, corporeal presence, the notion of a resacrificing of Christ or of offering his body and blood to God, and extra-liturgical practices associated with Roman Catholicism, such as veneration of the sacrament.

Thus, most ceremonialists were not far from the mainstream on the issues of eucharistic sacrifice or presence. Consensus broke down on the question of whether the sacraments were of themselves efficacious. The mainstream Elizabethan view was that they were signs and seals but not instruments of grace, yet even some puritans such as Samuel Ward and John Denison began to step beyond the consensus and to assert that the sacraments were instrumental means of grace (the "symbolic instrumentalism" position). Ward, for example, asserted that sacraments were "a means by which God doth offer and exhibit on his part the grace it signifieth."[87] Ceremonialists seem to have endorsed this view wholeheartedly. Francis White argued that the bread and wine themselves became "instruments of grace," even as he described the Eucharist conventionally as a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" and rejected corporeal presence.[88] Richard Montagu, another leading ceremonialist, asserted that sacraments were signs and seals, but also "instruments" of God's mercy. In the Eucharist, Montagu asserted that the bread and the wine were changed in their use into "instruments by faith of grace," and by means of them the recipient participated in the body and blood of Christ. Nevertheless,

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[84] Cosin, "Notes," 5: 336.

[85] Cosin, "Notes," 5: 119.

[86] Cosin, "Notes," 5: 118.

[87] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, pp. 75–80; Samuel Ward, "Letter CLXX: Dr. Ward to the Archbishop of Armagh," in *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D.* (Dublin, 1864), 15: 506.

[88] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, p. 84.

Montagu rejected transubstantiation.[89] The Eucharist was a "spiritual sacrifice" through which the priest offered to the Father the merits and death of Christ "on the altar of a heart grateful and contrite and devoted," but Montagu stopped short of saying that Christ was offered again on the actual altar itself.[90]

Conclusion

This spectrum of writers, from Cranmer to Cosin, shows across both time and ecclesial faction a certain consensus on the Eucharist. This consensus view was reflected in the catechisms of the period, which Ian Green masterfully surveyed. There was little theological disagreement about the sacrament; such disagreement as there was focused on the ways that they were administered.[91] A sacrament was an "outward representation, a 'token,' a 'visible' or 'sensible' sign of something which could not be seen or touched by ordinary means: the gospel promise of salvation through Christ." The sacraments functioned as aids for the believer to grasp those promises.[92] They were more than mere identity markers, or "corporate recollections of past events," but served as a "seal"—in the sense both of an attestation to a legal document and of an "imprinting" of the Gospel on the believer's heart.[93] As portrayed in the catechisms in Green's sample, the sacraments were "effectual" and conveyed grace, but only to those who received them in faith.[94] Green's sample showed a general agreement about the benefits of the Eucharist, which included "strengthening of faith and union with Christ;" this grace was given or confirmed by the reception of the Eucharist.[95] The catechisms rejected the idea of a corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine. The consensus view was that Christ was "present in the sacrament in a real but spiritual sense."[96]

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[89] Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, pp. 87–88.
[90] Richard Montagu, quoted in Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, p. 88.
[91] Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: catechisms and catechizing in England c.1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996), p. 509.
[92] Green, *Christian's ABC*, p. 510.
[93] Green, *Christian's ABC*, p. 510.
[94] Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 511, 548–49.
[95] Green, *Christian's ABC*, pp. 540, 544–45.
[96] Green, *Christian's ABC*, p. 548.

Anglican theologies of the Eucharist, from the Evangelical ascendancy under Edward VI until the English civil wars of the 1640s, shared considerable common ground. Against both Roman Catholic and Lutheran positions, Anglicans of all stripes rejected transubstantiation and a corporeal presence of Christ, and they took great pains to distinguish the sort of sacrifice they saw in the Eucharist from that of the medieval Mass. Fault lines surfaced, however, over the question of a sacrament's efficacy. Mainstream views, from Cranmer onwards, held that God might act simultaneously with the administration of a sacrament, but tried to downplay the role of the sacrament in and of itself. An emerging view, held by Richard Hooker, Samuel Ward, and the ceremonialists associated with William Laud, argued that the sacraments were an instrumental means by which God acted. For all that the chief agency was still God's, the sacrament itself was of greater importance in this view than in the traditional interpretation (for example, Cranmer's).

This emerging view would later come to dominate Anglican thought, but as late as the Restoration era, divines taught that the Eucharist benefitted only worthy receivers. While Christ was thought to be present in the Eucharist, there was reticence about the precise nature of that presence. Some asserted a "real presence" of Christ in the eucharistic elements, while dismissing transubstantiation. Others were vaguer, stating only that Christ was somehow "present at the consecration" of bread and wine. The consensus view held that communion would strengthen the believer's faith, and it served as a "seal" and assurance of God's mercies.[97] But there was not a consensus asserting a "real presence" and that the sacrament was an instrumental means of grace, with the result that the church had not moved too far from Cranmer's mature views.[98]

[97] Spurr, *Restoration Church of England*, pp. 345–347.

[98] For a larger discussion of the development of Anglican eucharistic theology, see Brian Douglas, *A Companion to Anglican Eucharistic Theology*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2012).

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

Robert J. Daly, S.J.

This chapter will have eight parts: (1) the present context: ecumenical and Catholic; (2) general eucharistic theology before Trent; (3) Catholic eucharistic theology on the eve of Trent; (4) the Eucharist at Trent; (5) Post-Tridentine Catholic theology of the Eucharist as sacrifice; (6) the Tridentine legacy in modern Catholic eucharistic theology; (7) transcending Trent; (8) coda.

The Present Context: Ecumenical, and Catholic

Although this article is primarily historical, it is being written from within the ecumenical context of the second decade of the twenty-first century. My eucharistic theology originally took its academic shape within the typical pre-Vatican II atmosphere of the traditional Roman Catholic seminary system of the 1950s and early 1960s. By the mid-1970s I was teaching Catholic eucharistic theology at (the Jesuit) Boston College, but within the Boston Theological Institute,[1] I was doing that in an increasingly ecumenical context. From the mid-1980s, as an active member of the North American Academy of Liturgy, the international Societas Liturgica, more recently the Jungmann Society of Jesuits in the Liturgy and the Society of Oriental Liturgy, my eucharistic study, while remaining Roman Catholic, has also become consciously and profoundly ecumenical in both method and content. Most liturgical scholars, especially the older ones among us, have similar stories to tell—stories with Catholics learning from Protestants, and Protestants from Catholics, and with both of us also learning from the East. But not all are happy with this situation. The so-called "liturgy wars," with some wanting to defend or even accelerate the various liturgical

[1] The Boston Theological Institute (BTI) is a closely cooperating association of ten theological schools or faculties in the Boston area: Andover Newton Theological School, Boston College Department of Theology, Boston College School of Theology and Ministry, Boston University School of Theology, Episcopal Divinity School, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Harvard Divinity School, Hebrew College, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Saint John's Seminary.

reforms and others wanting to roll them back or "reform the reforms," are not something that affect only Roman Catholics.

Why this autobiographical information? It is because no scholar is unaffected by these developments. No one comes to this topic without various biases that, consciously or not, inevitably affect one's judgment. As the reader will notice, I will not try to hide my biases. I will, rather, try to make them as transparent as possible so that my readers can decide for themselves just how far to agree or disagree with the way that I present and judge things.

General Eucharistic Theology before Trent

Gary Macy's chapter on the medieval theology of the Eucharist provides excellent background for this chapter. For the more immediate background, see Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*.[2] In general, it is important to keep in mind the thoroughly medieval nature of the eucharistic theology that European Christians shared with each other, or argued about, on the eve of the Council of Trent. At this time theologians—though not necessarily all popular preachers—focused above all "on the mystery of the sacraments of the body and blood and the efficacy of the eucharistic sacrifice for the living and the dead."[3]

Since the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the theory of transubstantiation[4] had been the most widespread explanation of the dogma of the eucharistic real presence. Those who may have preferred the theory of consubstantiation[5]—or "coexistence" as Macy refers to it—such as the fourteenth-century William of Ockham, would nevertheless, generally, hold for transubstantiation because of Church authority.[6] It was in this

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[2] Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J., *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology* (Collegeville, MN, 1998). See esp. ch. 5, "Eucharistic Theology: High Scholasticism to the Council of Trent," pp. 155–168.

[3] Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, p. 155.

[4] *Transubstantiation* means the conversion of the whole substance of the bread and the wine into the whole substance of the body and the blood of Christ, with only the "accidents" (i.e., the appearances of the bread and the wine) remaining. For a balanced, brief, and nuanced description of this term, see *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1997), p. 1637.

[5] *Consubstantiation* means that after the consecration, the substances both of the body and the blood of Christ and of the bread and the wine coexist in union with each other. See *The Oxford Dictionary*, p. 408.

[6] Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, p. 156. In this discussion the following terms are frequently found. The *consecration*, as a part of the Mass, refers to the act whereby the

context that Martin Luther, who also favored consubstantiation, though not with absolute exclusivity, in the course of his anti-Roman polemic found three doctrinal positions to be incompatible with the authentic, Scripture-based tradition: (1) the theological justification of the practice of Holy Communion under just one species—i.e., only the bread and not the cup; (2) the preference for the theory of transubstantiation; and (3) the identification of the celebration of the Mass as a true sacrifice.[7]

The dominant Catholic theology against which Luther was reacting can be described as the popularization of a Scotus–Biel synthesis. Duns Scotus was apparently the first to have separated the action of the *consecration* of the eucharistic elements from a ritual action or prayer of sacrifice/offering (what theologians came to refer to as the *oblation*) that was to come later. His understanding was that "the consecration takes place through the power of the words of Christ which the priest speaks in the person of Christ. The eucharistic sacrifice is explained as the subsequent offering of the consecrated gifts by the priest in the service of the Church."[8]

Scotus's exposition of the distinctive "fruits of the Mass" has governed traditional Roman Catholic thinking on the matter to this day. In this thinking there is, first, the fruit applied to the whole Church and to the whole world, for whom intercession is always made in the liturgical Eucharistic Prayer. Second, there is the special fruit that comes to the priest in virtue of the fact that he presides at the Eucharist as representative of the militant Church and representative of Christ, the head of the Church. Third, there is the fruit applied to the special intention for which

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bread and the wine are transformed into the body and the blood of Christ. In the West, this act (that Catholics traditionally call *transubstantiation*) is usually identified with the priest reciting Jesus' instituting words: "This is my Body . . . This is the cup of my Blood" over the "species" of bread and wine. In the East, however, the moment of this transformation is usually associated with the *epiclesis* (calling the Holy Spirit down to effect this transformation) that takes place after the recitation of the instituting words of Jesus. Contemporary theologians increasingly locate this consecration not at any precise moment but in the whole ritual enactment of the Eucharistic Prayer/Anaphora/Canon. The *oblation* in the traditional Roman Canon of the Mass is the special offering prayer, after the consecration, in which the consecrated bread and wine, now the body and blood of Christ, are offered to God in heaven. As formerly translated in the now somewhat revised Roman Catholic Eucharistic Prayer No. 1: "We offer to you, God of glory and majesty, this holy and perfect sacrifice: the bread of life and the cup of eternal salvation . . . we pray that your angel may take this sacrifice to your altar in heaven." The *communion* in this context refers usually just to the priest consuming the bread and the wine that had been consecrated into the body and blood of Christ (regardless of whether or not any of the faithful also receive).

[7] Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, p. 156. On Luther's eucharistic theology, see Volker Leppin's contribution to this volume.

[8] Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, p. 160.

the Mass is celebrated. This latter fruit was thought to be applied by an authoritative act of the will of the priest who is the official representative of the Church.[9]

In the late fifteenth century, Gabriel Biel basically made Scotus's position his own and amplified it in a highly sophisticated way. Unfortunately, the sophistication of this admirable theological position[10]—for example, I doubt that Luther knew this teaching in its sophisticated form and that this is what alienated him—was generally not appropriated by the popular purveyors of the "Catholic," i.e., Roman, position on the eve of and at the outset of the Protestant Reformation. However, the Catholic theologians and their (often superficially popularizing) followers, whether adherents of the Scotus–Biel synthesis (as most were) or adherents of the more Thomistic position favored by Thomas de Vio Cajetan, grounded "the sacrifice of the Mass on the identity of the victim of the cross and of the Mass, and they grounded their proof of the sacrifice of the Mass on the fact that the priest offers the divine victim in the Mass."[11] This issue, the theology of the sacrifice of the Mass, eventually became a major polemical flash point not only between Evangelicals and Catholics, but also, and especially, as we shall see, among Roman Catholics.

Catholic Eucharistic Theology before Trent

Thus far, I have offered a brief description of eucharistic theology in the pre-Reformation, pre-Tridentine period. What was specifically Roman Catholic about this basically medieval theology can be gleaned from the theological positions that the Fathers and theologians at the Council of Trent brought to their work. In his highly detailed and documented historical study of the idea of the sacrifice of the Mass, Marius Lepin[12]

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[9] Paraphrased from Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, pp. 167–168. See, for greater detail, Robert J. Daly, S.J., "Mass Stipend Theology: Theology in Transition," in *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (New York, 2009), pp. 184–188.

[10] See the careful description, with supporting texts, in Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, pp. 160–164.

[11] Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, p. 165.

[12] Marius Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice de la Messe d'après les théologiens depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1926). Marius Lepin (1870–1952), Sulpician, founder of the congregation *Servantes de Jésus, Souverain Prêtre* (1938), published prolifically on Modernism and the eucharistic teaching of the Catholic Church. *L'idée du Sacrifice de la Messe*, honored by the *Académie française*, was his major work of enduring scholarly value (see *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, Tables générales*, 2 [Paris, 1967], pp. 272–273).

summarizes in three points the general positions of those who hammered out the teaching of the Council of Trent on sacrifice.[13]

> *First*, at no point in the Council's deliberations can one find a suggestion, either in the mind of any of the theologians or of any of the Council fathers, of the idea that the Mass contains or must contain any reality of immolation. There was no thought or suggestion that there was anything in the Mass but a figure or a memorial of the past immolation once realized on the cross. Thus no one seems to have brought to the Council anything of the theories one will see arising in the following years, theories that seem to require of the Eucharistic sacrifice a change in the victim equivalent to some kind of destruction as if, for a sacrifice to be real, there would have to be some kind of a real immolation.
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> *Second*, the idea of the sacrifice of the Mass seems to be connected to or interconnected with three fundamental elements or actions: (1) the consecration; (2) the post-consecration oblation; and (3) the representative commemoration of the past immolation.
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> And *finally*, if this or that theologian seemed to place the formal reason of the eucharistc sacrifice in one or other of these three elements, they are the exceptions. Most of them, and indeed, the most important of them, tend to locate the formal reason of the Eucharistic sacrifice not in any one of these, but in the three elements working together, i.e., in (1) the post-consecration oblation of Christ that had, in the (2) consecration, been rendered present under the species of bread and wine, and with a (3) mystical figuring of his past bloody immolation. In doing so, they seem to be recapitulating the best of the ancient tradition that had managed to uphold the fragile equilibrium between the real and the symbolic, and that, with some sense of the apophatic, did not try to dot all the i's and cross all the t's.[14]

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[13] Contained specifically in the first two chapters of the *Doctrina de ss. Missae sacrificio* (DS/DH 1739–1743) and the first three canons of the *Canones de ss. Missae sacrificio* (DS/DH 1751–1753) of session 22, 17 September 1562, of the Council of Trent.

For precise information about, and for the official Latin wording of the decrees of the Council of Trent (and for the major teaching documents of the Church from the beginning to the present), see Henrici Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, ed. Peter Hünermann, 37th ed. (Freiburg, 1991), pp. 494–584; references will be made to DS/DH followed by the "official" paragraph numbers universally used in the different editions of this collection of official church documents. The first edition was by Heinrich Denzinger (Würzburg, 1854). The 1963 edition by Adolf Schönmetzer, S.J. (hence the designation DS) introduced a new numbering since followed by the later editions. The most recent significant edition, the (1991) 37th, by Peter Hünermann (hence the designation DS/DH used here) provides expanded historical detail and a parallel German translation for the (early) Greek and (mostly Latin later) documents.

[14] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice de la Messe*, p. 326 (my translation, adapted and expanded from the French). This 815-page study quotes extensively theologians' writings on this theme

The Eucharist at Trent

After many delays, the 19th Ecumenical Council met in twenty-five sessions, spread over three major periods from 13 December 1545 to 4 December 1563. Period I, at Trent, met in Sessions 1–8, from December 1545 to March 1547. This was followed by two basically ineffectual sessions at Bologna, to which many of the participants had fled because of the plague. Period II, back at Trent, met in Sessions 11–16, from May 1551 to April 1552. Period III, again at Trent (with no longer any significant Evangelical participation) met in Sessions 17–25, from January 1562 to December 1563. In general, Trent continued, and in many ways much more effectively, the various reform efforts of medieval Christianity. But in particular, its primary raison d'être was to provide a Catholic response to the—by that time, and in some parts of (especially) northern Europe—massive Evangelical challenges.

Trent did not deal with the central sacrament of the Eucharist in a unified systematic way, but piecemeal, in many sessions scattered over three different periods of time from 1545 to 1563. In its *first period*, after having dealt with the creed, Scripture, original sin, and justification, the Council came, in Session 7, to its 3 March 1547 Decree on the Sacraments (DS/DH 1600–1630). It began in canon 1 (DS/DH 1601)—the first of its thirteen canons on the sacraments in general (DS/DH 1601–1613)—by reaffirming the traditional medieval teaching that there are seven, and only seven, sacraments instituted by Christ: baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony. This decree ended with fourteen canons on the sacrament of baptism (DS/DH 1614–1627) and three canons on the sacrament of confirmation (DS/DH 1628–1630).[15]

Then, only after the ineffectual sessions at Bologna and a full four-year hiatus, did the Council reconvene at Trent for its *second period.* On 11 October 1551, in Session 13, it published its Decree on the Sacrament of the Eucharist (DS/DH 1635–1661). This decree, repudiating the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zwinglian doctrines, affirmed the substantial real presence

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beginning with the ninth century and covering the next eleven centuries. It constitutes the indispensable and single most important scholarly work for research on this topic.

[15] Since the fifteenth century, the Councils have used the word "canon" to designate their carefully argued and formally voted dogmatic definitions. The word "doctrine" is used to designate the expanded teaching or exposition that generally precedes the canons to give them context, but not to contain, as such, formally defined teaching.

of the body and the blood of Christ in the Eucharist brought about by a change "most aptly called transubstantiation" (DS/DH 1651–1652).[16] Extensive teaching on the sacraments of penance and extreme unction followed shortly from Session 14 (DS/DH 1667–1719) on 25 November 1551. From then until the suspension of conciliar activity on 28 April 1552, there was extensive discussion of, among other things, the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. This was the basis of canons proposed on 15 January 1562, and a revised version of the "doctrine" proposed on 20 January 1562. These proposed canons and this doctrine, debated, but never approved, provide the highly complex background, though not the precise starting point, for the Council's eventual formal teaching on the Eucharist as sacrifice when it reconvened a decade later.[17]

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[16] The essential teaching is contained in the following two canons:

DS/DH 1651: Can. 1. *Si quis negaverit, in sanctissime Eucharistiae sacramento contineri vere, realiter et substantialiter, corpus et sanguinem una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi ac proinde totum Christum; sed dixerit, tantummodo esse in eo ut in signo vel figura, aut virtute: anathema sit.* Should anyone deny that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is contained truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and thus the whole Christ; but should instead say that it is contained therein only as in a sign or figure, or only virtually: let him be anathema.

DS/DH 1652: Can. 2. *Si quis dixerit, in sacrosancto Eucharistiae sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini una cum corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiae panis in corpus et totius substantiae vini in sanguinem, manentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem catholica Ecclesia aptissime transsubstantiationem appellat: anathema sit*. Should anyone say that in the sacred sacrament of the Eucharist there remains the substance of the bread and wine along with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or deny that wondrous and unique conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, while the species [appearances] of bread and wine remain, which conversion the Catholic Church most aptly calls transubstantiation: let him be anathema.

[17] See David N. Power, O.M.I., *The Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and its Reinterpretation* (New York, 1987), pp. 50–94. It is helpful to summarize the positions that had been reached at that time: "First of all, the close connection between doctrine and practice continued to underlie the whole issue of sacrifice and propitiation. Secondly, the discussion and proposed decree centred upon the ministerial act of the priest who consecrated and offered in virtue of the priesthood. This was the node of the argument. Thirdly, it was this priestly act which was always envisaged in regard to the application of fruits. Fourthly, application of the fruits of the cross through the mass, or remission of sin and satisfaction, was what was intended by the concern over the *propitiatory* value of the sacrifice. Fifthly, on this subject there were differences of opinion among catholic scholars and bishops about the mode of efficacy which the session did not intend to adjudicate. Sixthly, the theologians and bishops could not be held guilty of the accusation that ideas about the mass's efficacy did away with the need for proper disposition and faith on the part of those who were its beneficiaries. Seventhly, the real theological issue was to explain all of

Then, after a much longer, eleven-year hiatus, all hope of reconciliation with Evangelicals now having been given up, the Council reconvened at Trent for its *third period*. From Session 21, in July of 1562, it published its teaching on Communion under both species and the Communion of small children (DS/DH 1725–1734). Only then, in Session 22, did the Council finalize its decree on the Sacrifice of the Mass on 17 September 1562 (DS/DH 1738–1759). In its first canon, mindful of the almost universal rejection of this on the part of the Reformers, Trent solemnly defined that the Mass is a "true and proper sacrifice—*verum et proprium sacrificium* DS/DH 1751).[18] It did not, however, try to define precisely what it meant by "sacrifice." That, as we will see below, was perhaps providential, in view of what it might have said.

Even if driven by polemical concerns, the Council was nonetheless following a basic plan within which it did treat the Eucharist in a—if not systematic, then at least—somewhat orderly fashion. The first major decree, from Period I, was on Scripture and tradition (Session 4, 8 April 1546); then on original sin (Session 5, 17 June 1546); on justification (Session 6, 13 January 1547); on the sacraments in general and on baptism and confirmation (Session 7, 3 March 1547). The continuation of this period (at Bologna, 1547–1549) included discussions on the sacraments of penance, extreme

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this in such a way that the practice of the mass did not seem to take away from the sufficiency of the cross. Eighthly, the clearly incontrovertible point on the relation of the mass to the cross, the least intended in speaking of it as commemoration and representation, is that there is only one victim, offered on the cross and in the eucharist, and that whatever is done in benefit of sinners is done through the power of Christ. Ninthly, though the expression that Christ offers through the priest was adopted, in order to eliminate the idea that the church is an offerer distinct from Christ, no common explanation of this had been found or embraced. Though several speakers connected supper, cross, heavenly priesthood and mass, none of this was included in what was put together as doctrine" (ibid., pp. 92–93).

[18] The essential teaching is contained in the following two canons:

DS/DH 1751: Can. 1. *Si quis dixerit, in Missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari: anathema sit.* Should anyone say that in the Mass a true and proper sacrifice is not offered to God, or claim that what is offered is not the Christ who is given to us as food: let him be anathema.

DS/DH 1753: Can. 3. *Si quis dixerit, Missae sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem propitiatorium; vel soli prodesse sumenti; neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis, poenis, satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus offerri debere: anathema sit*. Should anyone say that the Mass is a sacrifice only of praise and thanksgiving, or is a mere commemoration of the sacrifice carried out on the cross, or that it is not a propitiatory sacrifice; or that it is of benefit only to the one who receives it, or that it is not to be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities: let him be anathema.

unction, orders, and matrimony, but produced no binding decrees. Period II (back at Trent) resulted in the decrees on the Eucharist (Session 13, 11 October 1551); and on the sacraments of penance and extreme unction (Session 14, 25 November 1551). Finally, Period III (at Trent) resulted in decrees on the reception of the Eucharist/Holy Communion (Session 21, 16 July 1562); on the Sacrifice of the Mass (Session 22, 17 September 1562); on the sacrament of orders (Session 23, 15 July 1563); on the sacrament of matrimony (Session 24, 11 November 1563); on purgatory, on the veneration of saints, on sacred images, and on indulgences (Session 25, 4 December 1563).[19]

Trent's treatment of the Eucharist, was, especially in hindsight, not sufficiently systematic. For by first (in 1551) establishing its specifically Catholic teaching on the real presence and the reality of the substantial conversion of the bread and wine into the true body and blood of Jesus Christ (DS/DH 1651–1652, see above n.16), and only much later (in 1562) its Catholic teaching that the Mass is a true and proper sacrifice (DS/DH 1751, see above n.18), it had put the cart before the horse. For, as theologians now commonly recognize, it is the reality of the sacrifice that grounds the reality of the conversion and the real presence. Further, this problem and resulting confusion was compounded by the fact that Trent, while solemnly defining that the Mass is a true and proper sacrifice, did not explain precisely what it meant by sacrifice. That was left to the theologians to thrash out, as we shall shortly see. Granted, Trent did have a working description of what it understood as the sacrifice of the Mass—some combination of consecration, post-consecration oblation, and mystical figuring of the past bloody immolation, as Lepin reports—it even further compounded the already inevitable confusion by using the critical verb *offerre* (to offer/to sacrifice) sometimes to refer to the primordial, non-repeatable historical offering of Jesus on the Cross, and sometimes to refer to the Church's liturgical celebration of the Mass. And, of course,

[19] What most people consider Trent's teaching on the Eucharist—i.e., the expansion of the Council's carefully nuanced declarations (defending only what it felt had to be defended) into a complete teaching that filled in what was left out and glossed over the Council's careful distinctions between its general Catholic teaching in the doctrinal chapters and its solemnly defined canons—this more general "Tridentine" teaching can be found conveniently gathered together in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* that was published shortly after the Council. See, e.g., the section "The Sacrament of the Eucharist" in *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests* (South Bend, IN, 1972), pp. 213–260. Internet search engines such as Google provide background information as well as convenient access to the full text of this catechism in English translation.

it was the precise distinction and relation between these two that, in the years following Trent, became so desperately disputed.

Post-Tridentine Catholic Theology of the Eucharist

The Post-Tridentine theologians, Evangelicals in their rejection of the Mass as a true sacrifice, and Catholics in their attempts to defend this, inherited Trent's confusion or lack of distinction between the historical self-offering of Christ and the ritual liturgical offering. In addition, in an ironic case of de facto ecumenical (methodological) agreement, they both looked first to the phenomenology of sacrifice, i.e., to the history-of-religions idea of sacrifice,[20] in order to determine whether or not the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist was a true sacrifice. They did not realize, or at least did not know how to appropriate theologically, that the Christ-event had done away with sacrifice in the history-of-religions sense of the word. As the sixteenth century progressed, and to a large extent under the pressures of the Protestant-Catholic polemic, the history-of-religions idea that the destruction of a victim was a necessary characteristic of any true sacrifice became a key point in proving or disproving that the Mass was a true and proper sacrifice. Neither side thought to look first to the mystery of the Christ-event in order to understand the central meaning of the sacrifice of the Mass, that is, in order to understand why the early Christians, hesitatingly at first, and then with increasing unanimity, spoke of the Eucharist as sacrifice. Instead, to prove or disprove that the Mass was a sacrifice, they looked first to the history-of-religions phenomenology of sacrifice and asked, Was there, and if so, how, was there a destruction of a victim in the celebration of the Mass?

It had long been part of the common Christian tradition, at least since the third century, that Jesus Christ was both the priest and the victim in his unique sacrifice. So now, with the Catholics having solemnly defined that Jesus Christ is truly, really, and substantially present, body and blood, soul and divinity, in the sacrament of the Eucharist, i.e. the Mass (DS/DH 1651), and then, later, having further defined that this Mass is a true and proper sacrifice (DS/DH 1751), they were reduced to asking, Where in this Mass can there possibly be a destruction of the victim, since Jesus, the victim, now risen in glory, is beyond anything that could be even remotely

[20] See Jaime Lara's chapter on the Spanish New World in this volume.

described as "destruction"? In denying that the Mass is a sacrifice, the Evangelical theologians easily won the "debate." And in trying to defend the mystery of the Sacrifice of the Mass—or in their attempts to get out of the "theo-logical" corner into which they had painted themselves—the Catholic theologians ended up standing on their heads.

The post-Tridentine Catholic theology of eucharistic sacrifice became extremely complicated. Following Lepin's highly detailed outline, one can distinguish four major theories, most with subgroups, of explaining this element of the destruction of the victim.[21]

Theory I: The Sacrifice does not Require a Real Change in the Victim; The Mass Contains Only a Figure of the Immolation of Christ[22]

I. A. *The Figure of the Immolation of Christ is Found Outside of the Consecration* (Melchior Cano, Dominic de Soto, etc.)

Melchior Cano (1509–1560) saw the consecration as the essence of the Mass, and the post-consecration oblation as no less important. But neither of these two elements, apart or together, suffice to constitute the sacrifice for which, following St. Thomas Aquinas, there must be a certain action exercised with (or about) the breaking and eating of the bread understood as symbolic of the past immolation. For, on the eucharistic altar, there is only a figuring of the immolation of Christ. However, hardly anyone else placed this much significance on the breaking of the host.

Dominic de Soto (1494–1560) saw the essence of the eucharistic sacrifice in three parts: the consecration, the oblation, and the communion; but only in the communion (he does not mention the fraction) did he see realized in a perfect way the representation of the immolation of Christ. Like Cano, he needs to find an action exercised *concerning/around*, but *not on*, the sensible appearances of the Eucharistic Christ. The Jesuits Louis de le Puente (1554–1624) and Pierre Coton (1564–1626) followed the reasoning of de Soto.

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[21] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 346–415, summarized in Robert J. Daly, S.J., "Robert Bellarmine and Post-Tridentine Eucharistic Theology," *Theological Studies* 61 (2000): 239–260, at 249–260.

[22] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 346–357.

I. B. *The Figure of the Immolation of Christ is Found in the Consecration* (Alfonso Salmeron and Jean Maldonado).

These two Jesuits followed in principle the lines developed by the Dominicans Cano and de Soto, but they concentrated the representation of the immolation of Christ wholly on the consecration itself.

Alfonso Salmeron (1515–1583) saw the immolation figured in the double consecration, in the separate species of body and blood. All that follows the consecration contributes to the perfection of the mystical signification, and thus to the perfection of the sacrifice, but not to its substantial truth. To those who needed to find a "death of a victim," he replied, first, that this death is "represented" in the Eucharist; but he also replied by distinguishing between modes of presence. The death of a victim is required only when the victim is present *in proprie specie* (in its own species, i.e., in historical bodily presence), but not when present, as Christ is in the Eucharist, *sub aliena specie* (under a different species, i.e., of bread and wine). This became a very popular theological explanation.

Juan de Maldonado (1534–1583) found that what is called sacrifice in Scripture is not the death of the victim but its oblation. The Eucharist does look back to the oblation on Calvary, just as the Last Supper looked ahead to it. This means that the oblation of Christ does not need to be repeated; his once-for-all oblation suffices.

Theory II: The Sacrifice Requires a Real Change of the Material Offered: In the Mass the Change Takes Place in the Substance of the Bread and Wine (Michel de Bay [Baius], Francisco Torrès, Matthew van der Galen, Francis Suárez, Francisco de Toledo)[23]

In general, all the other theologians of the end of the sixteenth century agreed in putting the idea of change into the definition of sacrifice. Many of them saw this change only in the bread transubstantiated in the consecration. But since they did not think of the bread and the wine as the true victim offered to God, they were led practically to justify the eucharistic sacrifice in some other way.

[23] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 357–374.

Michel de Bay, or Baius (1513–1589), in a small work in 1563,[24] claimed, with some equivocation,[25] that the Eucharist is called sacrifice simply because it is the principal sacrament. Then, also aligning himself with those who saw sacrifice in a change in the victim, he allowed that the bread and the wine, as dedicated for change, are rightly called sacrifice, and the body and the blood of Christ, as the term of the change, are rightly called sacrifice. But while sacrifice, properly understood, is an act (of oblation), de Bay reduces it to a mere quality, the quality of victim.

The idea of sacrifice being a change affecting the bread and the wine is presented in a form that is more orthodox—but theoretically hardly more satisfying—by the following theologians:

Francisco Torrès (1509–1584) located it in the change of the bread and the wine into the body and the blood of Christ in the consecration as transubstantiation, which is not our work but the *opus operatum*[26] work of Christ. Since the remission of sins is attributed to this *opus operatum*, it is properly an act of sacrifice.

Matthew van der Galen (1528–1573) built an elaborate definition of sacrifice from an analysis of a broad spectrum of ancient sources, then gradually found that he could not apply it to the Eucharist, because the only change he could locate was in the bread and the wine converted into the body and blood of Christ. Rather than leave the Eucharist simply as a sacrifice (change) of bread and wine, he appealed to a complementary reality of another order, namely the term of the change, the oblation of Christ himself rendered present under the transubstantiated species of bread and wine, etc. In making this his eventual "solution," he had, in effect, abandoned his own elaborate theory of sacrifice and gone back to the more constant tradition of the Church.

The position of Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), while more beautiful and more sophisticated, followed the same pattern as that of van der Galen. He built an elaborate definition, including that the sacrifice is *in genere signi* (i.e. is there as a sign), and focused strongly on the words of consecration

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[24] *De sacrificio*, in *Michaelis Baii, celeberrimi in Lovaniensi Academis theology Opera, cum Bullis Pontificium, et aliis ipsius causam spectantibus . . . studio A.P. theologi* (Cologne, 1996), 1.160 (see Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 359).

[25] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 361.

[26] *Opus operatum* = literally, "the work done" is a technical term used by theologians since the thirteenth century to signify that the sacraments produce grace of themselves, i.e., independently of the "work" or worthiness of the one dispensing or receiving—*opus operantis*—the sacraments.

(like Maldonado and Salmeron). He followed Aquinas closely, but then added the essential idea of change (*immutatio*), even if the change can be slight and not go all the way to destruction. Like van der Galen, he ended up focusing on the positive term of the change, namely Christ, who is alone truly the host of our sacrifice, and in whom there can be no change (*immutatio*). It ended up being a beautiful and profound interpretation of the Eucharistic sacrifice, but it had little to do with the narrowness of his own general definition of sacrifice. Francisco de Toledo (1534–1596) followed a very similar course.

Theory III: The Sacrifice Requires a Real Change of the Material Offered: In the Mass, the Change Affects Christ Himself[27]

A certain number of theologians actually took the "logical" step in applying this change (*immutatio*) to Christ himself.

III. A. *A Change of Christ in the Consecration* (Jan Hessels, Jean de Via, Gaspard Casal)

Jan Hessels (1522–1596) following Ruard Tapper (1487–1559), stated for example:

> The New Law . . . contains an image of what takes place in heaven where Christ, in exercising his priesthood, stands before God and intercedes for us in representing his passion to his Father and in consummating the sacrifice of the cross . . . On the altar Christ does what he is doing in heaven.

Jean de Via (d. ca. 1582) held a similar position, expressed with remarkable richness:

> But if his priesthood is eternal, so too should his sacrifice be eternal, not only in the effect that is produced but also in the function that is exercised, although in a different manner: in heaven in its proper form, here below by the mysterious action of a different minister (*in caelo in propria forma, in altari hic infra in aliena operatione arcana*) . . . in the Church militant, a new sacrifice is not made by the ministry of the priest, but it is the same sacrifice once offered which he continues to offer.

Hessels followed Aquinas and Tapper in holding a distinction between oblation and sacrifice, but he modified the Thomistic axiom that sacrifice

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[27] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice,* pp. 375–393.

occurs when a certain action is exercised with regard to/about the matter offered. His new formula read: "Sacrifice occurs when the things offered are destroyed (*consumantur*) in honor of God." Thus, for him too, destruction (= *mutatio* or *consumptio*) becomes part of his definition of sacrifice, which makes it impossible for him to apply the definition satisfactorily to the Eucharist. The closest he can come to this is the basic thesis of Tapper that "the body of the Lord receives a mode of being which it did not have before, i.e. subsistence under the appearance of bread." But above all the Mass is an oblation, an oblation that is one with (and only formally distinguished from) the concrete reality of the consecration. "The consecration . . . puts at our disposition the Body of the Lord so that we can offer it."

Gaspard do Casal (1510–1585) combined two statements of Aquinas: (1) action with regard to/about the victim and (2) an act done in honor of God in order to propitiate him (*ad eum placandum* [*Summa theologiae* 3.48.3]) in order to come up with a definition of sacrifice which requires, essentially, a destruction. The Eucharist, instituted in continuation of the Last Supper and as a memorial of the Cross, can actually be that only "by way of immolation—*modo immolatitio*." He found this verified in the double consecration. Although many theologians stop here, Casal tried to go further, but each step he took only further revealed the difficulty or impossibility of trying to find a real "destruction" or "immolation" in the Eucharistic celebration.

III. B. *Change of Christ in the Communion* (Robert Bellarmine)

Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) was also convinced of the need of a real destruction for sacrifice. However, he failed to find this in the consecration. For he was not convinced by Gaspard Casal's theory that saw Christ suffering diminishment in *acquiring* sacramental being. For Bellarmine, the destruction takes place in *losing* it, in the eating of the sacramental species by the priest. According to Bellarmine, the Sacrifice of the Mass has two essential parts: (1) the consecration and (2) the communion/consumption. But the consecration alone does not suffice to make the Eucharist a sacrifice for, in the consecration, the immolation is entirely mystical. Sacrifice, as he pointed out from his analysis of Old Testament sacrifice, requires a real destruction.[28] The communion by the priest is

[28] "Id vero probatur, primum ex nomini sacrificii . . . Secundo probatur ex usu Scripturarum . . . Et omnia [quae] omnino in Scriptura dicuntur sacrificia, necessario *destruenda*

what constitutes the consummation of the sacrifice as opposed to the communion of the simple faithful, which is only an eating of the victim. Bellarmine emphasized:

> The consummation of the sacrament, as done by the people, is not a part of the sacrifice. As done by the sacrificing priest, however, it is an essential part, but not the whole essence . . . for the consumption carried out by the sacrificing priest is not so much the eating of the victim [what the people do] as it is the consummation of the sacrifice. It is seen as properly corresponding to the combustion of the holocaust.[29]

Bellarmine's influential and much-repeated definition of sacrifice reads:

> Sacrifice is an external offering made to God alone by which, in order to acknowledge human weakness and confess the divine majesty, some sensible and enduring thing is consecrated and transformed (*consecratur et transmutatur*) in a mystical rite by a legitimate minister.[30]

He followed the Thomistic line in seeing the sacrifice as a mystical rite, as an action *circa rem oblatam* (in relation to the thing offered). He was apparently convinced that his whole theory was in accord with the teaching of Aquinas. In the end, although his great authority as a theologian helped solidify the idea that a true sacrifice required a real destruction of the victim, hardly anyone followed him in seeing that destruction in the sacramental consumption of the species.

III. C. *Composite Theories More or Less Dependent on Bellarmine* (Henriquez, Ledesma, Azor, Gregory of Valencia, Coeffeteau)

Henrique Henriques (1536–1608) modified Bellarmine's definition to read: "Sacrifice is an external ceremony by which a legitimate minister consecrates a thing and, consuming it in a certain way, offers it cultically to God

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erant: si viventia, per occisionem; si inanima solida, ut similia, et sal, et thus, per combustionum; si liquida, ut sanguis, vinum et aqua, per effusionem: Lev i et ii. Neque his repugnant exemplum Melchisedech." That is proved first by the very word sacrifice . . . Secondly it is proved by the Scriptures . . . Each and every thing that in Scripture is called a sacrifice necessarily had to be destroyed: if a living being, by being killed; if an inanimate, solid thing, and things like salt and incense, by being burned; if liquid, like blood, wine, and water, by being poured out; Leviticus 1 and 2, the example of Melchizedek notwithstanding. See Robertus Bellarminus, *Disputationes de controversiis fidei* (Ingolstadt, 1586–1593; Paris, 1608), *De missa*, 1. V., c. xxvii, t. III, col. 792.

[29] Bellarminus, *Disputationes de controversiis fidei*, col., pp. 792–793.

[30] Bellarminus, *Disputationes de controversiis fidei*, col., p. 792 (Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 383–384).

alone in order to appease him."[31] Thus there are not two essential parts of the Sacrifice of the Mass (as in Bellarmine) but three: (1) consecration, with emphasis on the separation of the species; (2) oblation; and (3) the consumption or destruction that transforms the victim pleasing to God, separates it from all other use and consumes its substance in order to attest the sovereign dominion of God over being and life. This is what is accomplished by the communion *of the priest*.[32] In other places, however, Henriques seemed to speak of the priest's communion as a "clearer signification" of the death that has already been represented by the consecration under the two species.[33]

Pedro de Ledesma (d. 1616) spoke of a figurative immolation consisting in the separation of the species.[34]

Gregory of Valencia's definition of sacrifice reads:

> A function of an external order by virtue of which a man, particularly chosen for this purpose, offers something to God by way of confection or transformation—as when an animal is slaughtered or burned, or when bread is broken and eaten—in a certain ritual ceremony in recognition of the divine majesty and also in proclamation of the interior devotion of the man, i.e., his homage and servitude, toward the Sovereign Master of all things.[35]

One recognizes the language of Suárez as well as the ideas of Bellarmine. But in addition to the essential elements of consecration and communion (Bellarmine), he adds a third, the fraction, even though, as with so many others, he sees the constitutive essence of the sacrifice in the consecration.

Theory IV: The Sacrifice Requires a Real Change: Nevertheless, There Is in the Mass a Change Only in the Species of the Sacrament[36]

A final group of theologians admitted that sacrifice requires a change in the material offered, and nevertheless placed the essence of the eucharistic

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[31] Henricus Henriques, *Summae theologiae moralis libri quindecim* (Salamanca, 1591; Moguntiae, 1613), 1. IX, c. III; 498b (Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 345, 387).

[32] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 388.

[33] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 388.

[34] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 389.

[35] Gregorio de Valencia, *Metimnensis: De rebus fidei hoc tempore controversies* (Lyons, 1591), *De sacrosancto missae sacrificio, contra impiam disputationem Tubingae nuper a Jacobo Herbrando propositam, atque adeo contra perversissimam Lutheri, Kemnitii aliorumque novatorum doctrinam* 1. I, c. II; 504a (Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 344, 390–391).

[36] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 393–415.

sacrifice elsewhere than in a real change in Christ. Some ignored the resulting contradiction, while others tried to save the theory by restricting the rigor of its application to the Eucharist.

IV. A. *A Simple Affirmation of the Principle and of the Fact* (Allen, J. de Bay, Estius)

William Cardinal Allen (1532–1594) saw in the consecration the proper act of sacrifice simply because Christ is put to death there in a sacramental manner. Allen was following a long traditional line in seeing only a figurative or sacramental immolation (*mactatur sacramentaliter*) of Christ. But he did not attempt to resolve the contradiction with contemporary theories of sacrifice (including his own) that require a real change/destruction of the victim.[37]

Jacques de Bay [Baius] (d. 1614) also saw the sacrifice of the Mass concentrated in the consecration (as did Salmeron) and, like Allen, left the contradiction unresolved.[38]

Willem van Est [Estius] (1542–1613), when commenting on *The Book of the Sentences*, has similar contradictions. But when commenting on the Epistle to the Hebrews, he follows a line that is both more promising and also more in line with the better pre-Tridentine theories. This consists in identifying (or at least associating) the sacrificial action, the action of the Eucharistic Christ, with that which he accomplishes before his Eternal Father in heaven. In effect, what takes place in the Eucharist and in heaven is one and the same oblation: the oblation of Christ, the High Priest, offering himself to his Father for his Church.

IV. B. *Attempts to Reconcile the Principle and the Fact* (Vasquez and Lessius; both of these Jesuits exercised considerable influence in the centuries to follow)

Gabriel Vasquez (1549–1604) noted the "absurdity" of Bellarmine's communion/destruction theory (without naming him) by pointing out that such would make the sacrifice take place not on the altar but in the stomach of the priest; that in any case the corruption of the species means simply that Christ ceases to exist under them—which is not a sacrifice; that this theory turns the consecration into a mere preparatory rite. He also rejected

[37] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 394–397.
[38] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 397–399.

Suárez's theory (also without naming him) that the eucharistic sacrifice consists not in a change/destruction, but in a confection/production. He insisted, as did most of his contemporaries, in seeing the essence of sacrifice in the act itself of the change that takes place in the victim. He tried to save the day by distinguishing between an *absolute* sacrifice and a *relative* sacrifice (of which the Eucharist is the unique instance). This *relative* sacrifice has a different definition: "Sacrifice is a mark or note existing in a living thing, by which we profess God as author of death and life."[39] This change in the thing offered is thus not real, but *figurative*, and it is realized in the act of consecration of the two species, which he sees as a *mystical* (not real, because of concomitance)[40] immolation of the body and blood which represents/signifies the death of Christ. In the end, Vasquez's understanding of the Eucharist (in itself) exercised great influence. He, too, however, was unable to reconcile his theology of the Eucharist with his general theory of sacrifice. His idea of a *relative* sacrifice, unique to the Eucharist, did not catch on.

Leonardus Lessius (1554–1623) defined sacrifice as "an external oblation, offered to God alone, by a legitimate minister, in which a sensible substance undergoes a change, or even a destruction, in witness to the divine sovereignty and our servitude thereto."[41] He is somewhat influenced by Vasquez, but much more by Suárez's idea of understanding the "destruction" more as a kind of *production* that takes place in the consecration. For a while he thought it was "very probable" that the communion of the priest also pertained to the essence of the eucharistic sacrifice, but he subsequently returned to the more common opinion that saw its whole essence in the consecration. His explanation of the theory of a *virtual* or *mystical immolation* of Christ on the altar became influential. He argues that if the blood of Christ is not drawn from its flesh in reality,

> that is a kind of accident due to the law of concomitance. But, inasmuch as it depends on the force of the words, there is a true separation: under the

[39] Gabriel Vasquez, *Commentarii ac disputationes in III^m partem S. Thomae* (Lyons, 1631), Disp. 220, c. III, no. 26; 394a (Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 406).

[40] Concomitance is the doctrine that explains the existence/presence of the whole Christ under each—by itself—of the eucharistic species of bread and wine.

[41] Leonardus Lessius, *De sacramentis et censures, praelectiones theologicae posthumae, olim in Academia Lovaniensi ann. 1588 et 1589 primum, iterum 1596 et 1597 propositae, q. 83, art. I., no. 7*, in *In divum Thomam, de beatitudine, de actibus humanis, de Incarnatione Verbi, de sacramentis et censures, praelectiones theologicae posthumae* (Louvain, 1645), p. 152 (Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 344–345).

> species of bread is placed only the Body, not the Blood; under the species of wine only the Blood, not the Body.[42]

He also wrote:

> [T]he words of consecration are a kind of sword. The Body of Christ which is now living in heaven, is to be slaughtered here instead of a living victim. The Body, placed under the species of bread, and the Blood under the species of wine, are like the body and blood of a lamb now immolated.[43]

In effect, Lessius followed closely Vasquez's idea of the eucharistic sacrifice, but without adopting his peculiar theory of a relative sacrifice. Picking up on an idea that goes back at least to Aquinas, he did not insist on a change of the victim (*mutatio hostiae*), but on a *mutatio circa hostiam*—a change that takes place with regard to the host/victim—and he insists that this change suffices to assure (Trent's) "true and proper sacrifice."[44]

From this detailed outline of post-Tridentine Catholic theologies of eucharistic sacrifice Marius Lepin concluded finally:

> As we cast a retrospective eye over the half century since the Council [of Trent], we can see that the theologians follow one or the other of two clear tendencies.
>
> 1º The theologians of the first group propose in principle that sacrifice consist essentially in a destruction or real change of the victim. They are thus forced to find this real change (or destruction) in the Sacrifice of the Mass. No one found sufficient the pure and simple change of the bread and wine via transubstantiation. The idea of a simple acquisition by Christ of his sacramental essence (Hessels) also did not satisfy. Two theories received the most attention: that of Casal, which sees the destructive change of Christ realized in the consecration itself; and that of Bellarmine, where it is accomplished in the communion [of the priest].
>
> 2º An equally large number insist, on the contrary, that the Eucharistic Christ *does not undergo any real change*, neither at the consecration, nor at

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[42] Lessius continues, acknowledging his debt to Vasquez: "Et hoc sufficit ad rationem hujus sacrificii, tum ut sit verum sacrificium (fit enim circa hostiam, dum sic ponitur, sufficiens mutatio, qua protestamur Deum habere supremam in omnia potestatem), tum ut sit sacrifium commemorativum, repraesentans nobis sacrificium crucis et mortem Domini. Qui plura hac de re desiderat, legat Gabr. Vasquez." See Leonardus Lessius, *Opuscula in quibus pleraque theologiae mysteria explicantur, et vitae recte instituendae praecepta traduntur: ab ipso auctore, paullo ante mortem, varie acuta et recensita* (Antwerp, 1626), *De perfectionibus moribusque divinis* (1620), 1 XII, c. XIII, no. 97; 128 (Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 413).

[43] Lessius, *De perfectionibus moribusque divinis*, no. 95; 128 (Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 413).

[44] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, p. 414.

the communion; there is only a figure of his past immolation and an appearance of death.

Consequently, those who maintain that sacrifice in general requires the change (destruction) of the victim suppose that the Sacrifice of the Mass is an exception to the common rule. Salmeron and Jacques de Bay justify the exception from the fact that Christ is not rendered present under his own (historical bodily) species. Vasquez justifies it by reasoning that the Mass is a relative sacrifice. The others are of the opinion that sacrifice can be conceived apart from a real change/destruction of the thing offered. Suárez replaced the idea of destruction with the quite opposite idea of *production*. Melchior Cano, Domingo de Soto, and Maldonado require, following Thomas Aquinas, a simple *action* carried out with regard to the sacrificial matter. Lessius, finally, with whom one can place van Est, retain the term "change—*immutatio*" and, applying it to the same reality as the just-mentioned theologians, talked about change "with regard to" the host/victim.[45]

The Tridentine Legacy in Modern Catholic Eucharistic Theology

Much of the research and the findings that have been shaping the content of this article arose from an attempt to answer the question, Why does there seem to be such a gap between what, on the one hand, Kilmartin has called the "modern average Catholic theology of the Eucharist,"[46] found in most of the Catholic Church's official teaching of the last half century, and, on the other hand, the theology of the Eucharist that is being consistently taught by some of the most accomplished modern Catholic liturgical theologians? There is a paper trail in the footnotes of these Catholic Church teaching documents that leads back to Robert Bellarmine, who, in this theological tragedy, turns out to be more the messenger than the villain. For the most part, he was not inventing but merely handing on to posterity in magnificently readable Latin prose the highly polemicized Catholic version of the inherently inadequate eucharistic theology that developed after Trent. The shortcomings of that theology can be summarized as follows:

(1) Lack of trinitarian perspective and massive overemphasis on the Christological perspective; no mention of the role of the Holy Spirit; little awareness of the theological structure and content of the Eucharistic Prayer, or that it is addressed to the Father.

[45] Lepin, *L'idée du Sacrifice*, pp. 414–415.
[46] See Daly, "Robert Bellarmine," p. 240.

(2) Neglect of the ecclesiological perspective. There is an implicit allusion to the ecclesiological in the insistence that the rite is to be celebrated by a properly ordained minister, but this minister is seen as the sole essential performer of the action. He is not conceived as standing there as part of the Church, embedded in the Christ-Church relationship, but as standing, like a mediator, between Christ and the Church.
(3) Neglect of the role of the participating faithful. They are not even necessary for the essential integrity of the Eucharist. They take part in it only by a kind of association, by consenting to the action of the priest that is, in any case, essentially complete without them.
(4) Minimal awareness of the ultimate (or eschatological) goal of the Eucharist, namely the reorienting transformation of the participants in the direction of the dispositions of Christ. So much emphasis was put on the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, so much emphasis was put on verifying a real—or at least symbolic (but with graphically real descriptors)—destruction of the victim that the real goal and ultimate reality of the Eucharist—transformation of the participants into Christ—was obscured.[47]

Many of these shortcomings have happily been overcome, or at least ameliorated, in the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms. But echoes of them still survive in modern Catholic teaching and practice, some of them quite strongly among those intent on "reforming the reform."

Transcending Trent

This final section will be my attempt at a Roman Catholic contribution to the much larger project I would call "transcending the Reformation." I have vividly in mind the words of Hoyt Hickman[48] in a North American Academy of Liturgy seminar a few years ago when, in the midst of discussing Kilmartin's theology of the Eucharist, he exclaimed, "If we had known this four hundred years ago, we could have saved ourselves a lot of trouble." The remarkable recent convergence in eucharistic theology among the mainline churches is due to a number of "factors" that, now available to liturgical scholars, were not available to our Protestant and Catholic forebears at the time of the Reformation. Among these are:

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[47] See Daly, "Robert Bellarmine," pp. 259–260.

[48] Hoyt L. Hickman is one of the editors responsible for assembling *The United Methodist Book of Worship* (Nashville, 1992), one of several recent Protestant worship books that, in some respects, seem to be more Catholic than the official Roman Catholic worship books.

- An awareness that the Christ-event did away with sacrifice in the history-of-religions sense of the word, and a consequent awareness that the Reformation and post-Reformation debates over the sacrificial character of the Mass were, to a large extent, debates over a misunderstanding.
- The historicity and historical consciousness that is now taken for granted by critical scholars relativizes or eliminates many of the most sharply debated Reformation arguments, e.g., the traditional assumption that there is (or should be) a clear line of development from the words and actions of the historical Jesus at the Last Supper to the Eucharist we celebrate today turns out to be not only historically unverifiable but also, historically speaking, mistaken.
- Much of what we now treasure as ritual and liturgical richness can indeed be found as early as the great liturgies of the early fifth century associated with the names of Chrysostom and Basil. But from there back to Christ we can find no historically verifiable line of development. In fact, the closer we get back to the historical Jesus, the more divergent these lines become.[49] Even the instituting words of Jesus, long assumed to be at the heart of any authentic Christian Eucharist, cannot be found in the text of any anaphora or Eucharistic Prayer that dates with any certainty before the fourth century.[50] In sum, no critical liturgical scholar thinks that the whole eucharistic ritual that we now celebrate was instituted *qua tale* by the historical Jesus. Yes, the Eucharist is the major of the two "dominical" sacraments whose founding obviously goes back to Jesus; but as for the way in which we have learned to celebrate it, that, historically speaking, took the Body of Christ, guided by the Holy Spirit, several centuries to "institute."
- An awareness of the theological shape and content—Trinitarian, pneumatological, ecclesiological—of the traditional Eucharistic Prayer, even in its somewhat "weak" Roman-Canon form, was not available to the Reformation and post-Reformation theologians and polemicists.
- Many theologians now see apophasis as a value, or at least are increasingly aware that there is much more to be known and understood than they now know and understand. In contrast, no longer in conversation with the East, and indeed no longer in non-polemical conversation with

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[49] See Robert J. Daly, S.J., "Eucharistic Origins: From the New Testament to the Liturgies of the Golden Age," *Theological Studies* 68 (2007): 3–22.

[50] See Robert F. Taft, S.J., "Mass without the Consecration? The Historic Agreement on the Eucharist between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East, Promulgated 26 October 2001," *Worship* 77 (2003): 482–509.

each other, Western Christians from the time of the Reformation, then rushing with varying degrees of enthusiasm into the age of scientific discovery when true knowledge tended to be reduced to the mathematically consistent or the empirically verifiable, and having thus lost the fragile balance between symbolism and realism, tended to see things in a totalizing way, in terms of black and white, in or out, salvation or damnation.

Coda

It would be presumptuous to claim full appropriation of the "factors" listed in these bullets, but most liturgical scholars are now at least on the same page when talking about them. They are also increasingly open about the biases or, more positively, the perspectives that guide their work. In my case, the dominant perspective has been a recently gained insight into the Trinitarian reality of Christian sacrifice, namely, that an act, an action, a life, is authentically Christian precisely to the extent that it—i.e., we—in the Holy Spirit, and by means of the various ways in which we receive and hand on the love that makes us human beings, are beginning to enter into the mutually self-giving love and life of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.[51]

[51] The original formulation of this insight is in Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, pp. 381–382. See my expansion of it in "New Developments in the Theology of Sacrifice," *Liturgical Ministry* 18 (Spring 2009): 51–52; see also Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled*, p. 5.

PART TWO

LITURGICAL PRACTICES

CATHOLIC LITURGIES OF THE EUCHARIST IN THE TIME OF REFORM

Isabelle Brian

In January 1657, two young Hollanders en route to Paris made their way to the church of Saint-Louis des Jésuites. They were struck by the magnificence of the décor and by the imaginative technology in the service of the liturgy:

> Tout autour de l'église on voyait plus de quatre mille cierges allumés, outre les chandelles dont l'autel, en forme de ciel et rempli de figures d'anges était éclairé . . . et par des machines et des ressorts on faisait descendre l'hostie jusque dans les mains de l'évêque.[1]

This ceremony illustrates the desire of the faithful "to see the host," even as it also constitutes a response to Evangelical attacks on "the god of pastry." In reaction to the Calvinist rejection of the real presence, the Council of Trent decreed the doctrine of transubstantiation and set forth those conditions in which communion and the worship of the Blessed Sacrament would be valid.[2] In the wake of Trent, and in direct response to Evangelical critiques and the demands of some of the faithful, new liturgical practices developed.[3] They could be examined along the following lines: the liturgy of the sacrament; the ceremonies surrounding communion; frequency or rarity—Sundays, Easter or first and last communion. Another ensemble of practices concerning the host emerged: Corpus Christi; the defence of the real presence; the celebration of the host itself; as well as a certain number of liturgical and paraliturgical acts that acquired an unprecedented importance over the course of the sixteenth century, such as the Corpus Christi procession, the perpetual adoration, the Forty Hours' Devotion or Quarantore, and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. While the rise of these ceremonies is undeniable, and though they were the occasion to manifest the unity and fervor of the faithful, they could

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[1] A.P. Faugère, ed., *Journal d'un voyage à Paris en 1657–1658* (Paris, 1862), p. 42.

[2] On the Council of Trent, see Robert Daly's contribution to this volume.

[3] This Catholic reaction in the face of Protestant criticism can be seen, in the long term, in the intensification of a devotion to the host that has its origins in the fourteenth century. See Jean-Georges Vondrus-Reissner, "Présence réelle et juridiction ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Paris (fin XVème–1530)," *Histoire, économie et société* 7 (1988): 41–53.

also become an opportunity for conflict over precedence, revealing rivalries within the Catholic community. They were also themselves the focus of contestation, notably on the part of rigorists or Jansenists, again, revealing internal cleavages and divisions.

Sacramental Practice

All eucharistic practice looks back to the essential moment of consecration by the priest in the course of the Mass. The Canon, that is, the words of the celebrant and his codified gestures, is necessary to assure the transformation of the elements, bread and wine, into the body and the blood of Christ. At the end of the Middle Ages, the belief in the nature of the Mass as a propitiary sacrifice led to the multiplication of celebrations, thus consecrations of the elements, which did not necessarily lead to the communion of the faithful. A priest, without assistance, celebrated Masses for the dead, said at the moment of passing and ensuing Masses for the anniversary of the death, in which he alone received communion. It was not uncommon for multiple Masses to be said simultaneously in a single church, thanks to the multiplication of chapels and secondary altars. When the faithful attended the Mass, they did so distantly, because a great number of churches preserved the choir screen, which separated the nave from the apse. The priest's words and acts largely escaped those attending, who could not see the Mass unfolding until the moment of the elevation of the host, the essential moment of transformation, which was directly visible. At a time when communion of the faithful was rare, outside of the paschal obligation stipulated by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the faithful could thus meet the desire "to see the host."

Discussions at the Council of Trent (1545–1563) considered the possibility of the consecretation as a prefiguration of the Passion.[4] The publication of the Decree, *De sanctissimo missae sacrificio* (Session 22, 17 September 1562), affirmed that the Mass was truly a sacrifice, closely related to the cross. The Canon was reaffirmed in the publication in 1570 of the Tridentine Missal, which offered a renovated ritual, promulgated in the bull, *Quo primum tempore*, for all Catholics. The movement of the Mass and of communion is partially captured in Bernard Picart's

[4] On the sacrifice of the Mass, see Robert Daly's contribution to this volume.

illustrated *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, first published in Amsterdam in 1723.[5] The text accompanying the engravings distinguishes two priniciple parts of the Mass. The first, open to all, is called "the Mass of the catechumens." The second, the "Mass of the faithful," begins with the offertory and entails the consecration. Once the first part, also known as the liturgy of the word, has been completed, the bread and the wine are carried to the altar. After censing and the offertory prayers, the celebrant turns to the altar with his back to those attending and proceeds to the consecration proper, spoken while elevating the host, large in size in order to be visible, as is the chalice containing the wine. This is the culmination, when the transformation of the elements is effected. Picart chose to represent the elevation in an engraving of "the solemn or high Mass." All those attending are kneeling, some with their heads bowed, others contemplating the body of Christ.[6]

While these engravings represent the movement of the eucharistic consecration in accord with ecclesiastical prescription, kneeling was not imposed immediately or unanimously.[7] The Roman Catechism of 1566 and Roman Missals, beginning in 1570, formally set that the host could not be made of anything other than wheat, excluding oats, millet, and peas. The composition of the wine, too, was strictly regulated. It could be white or red, mixed with water, but not of vinegar or grape juice; it also could not be made from wild plants. A preference was marked throughout for white wine, which posed less risk if it touched the corporal or cloth on which the elements are placed.

Once the elements were consecrated, the priest communicated, not more than once a day and fasting. The "dry Masses," those in which there was neither consecration nor sacerdotal communion, were prohibited, though the practice continued locally until the end of the seventeenth century. The liturgy of communion turned upon the respect given the divine body. All circumstances that posed a risk of its pollution were to be avoided, even a priest celebrating on rough seas where a chalice could be knocked over. The priest was not allowed to have a moustache, for fear that the sacrament might soak into it. Neither those faithful

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[5] Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, ed. Odile Falier (Paris, 1988 [Amsterdam, 1723–1728]).

[6] Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, plate 10, p. 232.

[7] Philippe Martin, *Le théâtre divin: Une histoire de la messe du XVIe au XXe siècle* (Paris, 2010). The quarrel over rites in the eighteenth century resided in part in the question of the elements used in eucharistic celebration.

who did not receive communion before the altar or in the place of the celebration, nor those who attended the Mass, whether kneeling or in a line, were permitted to take the host in their own hands, for fear that it might fall to earth. In effect, if Catholic liturgists ignored the Eastern tradition in which the faithful received communion in their hands, the doctrine of real presence induced a respect so great for the host that it became a question if a lay person could touch it, if not receive it directly in the mouth.[8] In Picart's engravings, the faithful are kneeling before a balustrade shutting off the choir, the priest giving communion holds the ciborum in his left hand and offers the host in his right, behind him one sees an altar and an open tabernacle.[9] A French catechism from the beginning of the eighteenth century enjoins the communicant to keep the head upright, be prepared to open the mouth, and to swallow the host without chewing and "with reverence."[10] The commentary on the engraving allows the idenfication of a ceremony that follows communion:

> Après que les fidèles ont reçu la Communion de la main du Prêtre, ils se retirent, mais en se retirant ils passent devant les tables dressées bout à bout les unes des autres . . . Il y a sur les tables des bassins d'argent remplis de plusieurs sortes de reliques que les prêtres donnent à baiser aux fidèles. Après avoir baisé les reliques, on met dans le bassin telle pièce d'argent qu'on juge à propos.[11]

The respect the faithful were supposed to show the host as the body of Christ engendered the idea of required instruction and spiritual preparation before the first participation in the sacrament. While Eastern churches had preserved communion at baptism, under the form of the wine administered to the newborn, in the Roman Church, the Fourth Lateran Council decreed first communion was to be at the age "of discretion."[12] Parallel to the abandonment of communion in two kinds—probably caused by the evolution of sentiment regarding the Eucharist, which feared seeing fall the consecrated blood that had become really the blood of Christ—at

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[8] Le Brun prepared designs for a tableau, the "Institution of the Eucharist," showing the apostles kneeling, receiving communion in their hands, looking back to an Eastern tradition and manifesting an interest in how the Supper actually functioned during the time of Christ. See Jennifer Montagu, "The 'Institution of the Eucharist' by Charles Le Brun," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, no. 3/4 (Jul.–Dec., 1961): 309–312.

[9] Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, plate 31, la Communion, p. 357.

[10] Martin, *Le théâtre divin*, p. 301.

[11] Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, p. 214.

[12] Nicole Lemaître, "Avant la communion solennelle," in *La première communion: Quatre siècles d'histoire*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris, 1987), pp. 17–31.

the beginning of the sixteenth century, certain rituals, looking towards the communion of newborns, practiced sometimes, substituted simple blessed wine, just as simple blessed bread had been substituted for those who could not or would not receive communion at Easter.[13]

Catholic reform also fostered the progressive insitution of a ritual specific to the first communion. In his *Instructions* (. . .) *aux confesseurs de sa ville et de son diocèse* (1575), Carlo Borromeo recommended that children between ten and twelve years of age should not long be deprived of the "spiritual treasure" of communion, on condition that they have been correctly instructed on issues of religion and that they have confessed.[14] The catechism emerged as the indispensable preparation. The Fathers of Christian Doctrine and the Ursulines both called for bishops to prepare children for the reception of the sacrament. Though no formal source exists, during the sixteenth century, Jesuits came to present children of ten to twelve years, after some years of religious instruction, to communion in a collective ceremony. Jesuits of the Holland mission were the first to organize a first communion in this territory, in Leiden in 1620, for fifty-two boys and girls. This ceremony spread quickly in this "frontier of Catholicity": to Tournai in 1645 and Lille in 1648. Jesuit missionaries also systematically offered communion. They organized in the Americas to offer it with as much éclat as possible to native children. In France, Father Bourdoise, curate of Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet et Vincent de Paul, popularized this ceremony during the 1620s. If Jesuits, on the one hand, and rigorist clergy, on the other, differed on the age at which first communion should be received, ten for the one, no older than thirteen or fourteen for the other, they agreed in solemnizing the moment. The collective ceremony comprised a procession of children, perhaps dressed as angels and each carrying a candle, and the custom spread that they then received small gifts such as devotional books, rosaries, or images.[15] In keeping with its sacramental nature, first communion became a rite of passage like the last rite.

The communion the faithful received on the death bed took on an utterly particular character. It was only one of the elements of the "last sacrament," along with confession and extreme unction. Following

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[13] Nicole Lemaître cites the missal of Amiens (1506), in which the baptized newborn receives communion with wine.

[14] Maryvonne Goubet-Mahé, "Le premier rituel de la première Communion, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle," in *La première communion*, pp. 51–76.

[15] Robert Sauzet, "Aux origines," in *La première communion*, pp. 33–50.

the instructions of the Catechism of the Council of Tent, "les pasteurs doivent observer de ne donner ce sacrement aux malades qu'après leur avoir administré les sacrements de Pénitence et d'Eucharistie."[16] The final communion of the dying was a solemn moment that unfolded in public; the engraving of the last rite in Picart's work shows a priest offering communion to the dying in bed, while those attending kneel and the tableaux ornamenting the room are veiled. The commentary accompanying the engraving enumerates precisely the acts of the priest, who

> entrant dans la chambre du malade souhaite la paix au logis et avance jusqu'à la table, où il étend le corporal pour y poser le ciboire. Il adore ensuite le S. Sacrement, et tous ceux qui sont dans la chambre l'adorent aussi: il asperge le malade et même la chambre . . . Après cela il découvre le Ciboire, prend une hostie avec le pouce et l'index de la main droite, la tenant un peu élevée sur la coupe, et prenant le ciboire de la main gauche, il se tourne et s'approche du malade pour lui donner la communion.[17]

The respect that those attending demonstrated for the blessed sacrament was the same as passers-by who crossed themselves as a priest carried communion to the dying—the men removed their hats, crossed themselves, perhaps knelt before that which is no less than God being carried by one of his servants. The doctrine of the real presence in effect engendered the development of particular ceremonies designed to celebrate the sacrament.

The Exaltation of the Blessed Sacrament: To See and to Adore the Host

The doctrine of the real presence implied that the conversion of the elements into the body and the blood of Christ was not transitory, as Martin Luther affirmed, but definitive.[18] While the priest consumed the wine in the chalice, not all hosts were distributed during communion. They constituted the Blessed Sacrament, which was entirely present in each of its parts.[19]

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[16] Marcel Bernos, *Les sacrements dans la France des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Pastorale et vécu des fidèles* (Aix-en-Provence, 2007), p. 273.

[17] Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, p. 214.

[18] On Martin Luther's theology of the Eucharist, see Volker Leppin's contribution to this volume.

[19] Council of Trent, Session 13, Canon III; Joseph Pohle, "The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (New York, 1909), accessed May 28, 2012, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05573a.htm.

The most ancient and widespread celebration in the medieval Christian world was the Feast of Corpus Christi. While it was officially founded by Pope Urban IV in 1264 and introduced into canon law by Pope John XXII in 1317, its origins were older. Miri Rubin connects it to the fascination with the body of Christ of a circle of women, in particular the Beguines of the Low Countries; in the 1220s, the Beguine Julian of Liège manifested a particular devotion to the host.[20] The institutionalization of the feast and its inscription into the liturgical calendar led to its diffusion throughout Europe, from York to Seville. The papal bull only fixed its broad traits: the Mass on the last day and the readings of the octave, which allowed local adaptations within a similar progression, in particular a procession of the Blessed Sacrament opening the octave.

In the course of the procession, a priest carried the host placed in a monstrance sheltered with a canopy. At first, the monstrance was an older reliquary adapted to function in these circumstances, but over time a form emerged, of a sun in precious metal, with glass in its center, permitting sight of the host. The itinerary of the procession might be the boundary of the parish or centered around important places. At York during the fifteenth century, two processions took place, departing from the cathedral or the principle abbey of the town; a third included the territory of the town. At Seville, the principle procession departed from the cathedral; a number of parish feasts and religious communities were organized.[21] On this occasion, houses were dressed with bunting and ornamented with tapestries. The children preceding the Blessed Sacrament strewed the path with flowers and people knelt as the Eucharist passed. The procession was accompanied by various paraliturgical practices: at York, craft corporations organized plays and biblical tales; at Seville, *autos sacramentales* were sacred plays, performed by actors, on the day of Corpus Christi or the Monday following. In some villages, these processions constituted the heart of civic religion.[22] The extraordinary success of Corpus Christi made

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[20] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

[21] Jean Sentaurens, "La mise en scène du pouvoir à Séville: La Fête-Dieu, champ clos des rivalités politiques XVIe et XVIIe siècle," in *Le Corps de Dieu en Fêtes*, ed. Antoinette Molinié (Paris, 1996), pp. 31–46.

[22] Jacqueline Hadzhossif, "L'Ange custode de Valence;" Bernard Chevalier, "La religion civique dans les bonnes villes: sa portée et ses limites; Le cas de Tours;" and Jean-Michel Matz, "Le développement tardif d'une religion civique dans une ville épiscopale; Les processions à Angers (v. 1450–v. 1550)," in *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne* (*chrétienté et islam*), ed. André Vauchez (Rome, 1995), pp. 135–151, 337–349, 351–366, respectively.

it one of the major Christian feasts throughout late medieval Europe. It became an emblematic feast of Catholicism after the rupture of the sixteenth century, along with other demonstrations of the Catholic faithful's attachment to the Blessed Sacrament.

The "desire to see the host" was affirmed particularly during the fourteenth century, perhaps as compensation for less frequent communion.[23] Saint Dorothy of Danzig contemplated the host to compensate for receiving communion three or four times a year.[24] The practice of exhibiting the host, at times other than Corpus Christi, developed in German lands and the Low Countries. In some churches, the Blessed Sacrament was exhibited all day in a monstrance, so that the pious might pray before it, despite synodal prohibitions that feared the risk of too great familiarity and want of respect. Following a decree of Cologne in 1452, under the authority of Nicolas of Cusa, Corpus Christi alone was to be the occasion for exhibiting the sacrament. The reticence of ecclesiastical authorities led to a compromise with the multiplication in German churches of the *Sakramentshäuschen*, or sacrament houses, constructed in the interior of the church in the form of small buildings in which hosts were preserved in a monstrance, enveloped in wood and stone, providing but a glimpse to the faithful.[25] One of the most spectacular is the sacrament house in the choir of Saint Lawrence church in Nuremberg, which Adam Kraft carved at the end of the fifteenth century. Its gothic flamboyance culminates in more than 20 meters of height, decorated with a representation of the Supper, the Crucifixion, and the resurrection of Christ, recalling the mystery of the Incarnation. A few years earlier, a sacrament house of this type had been erected in the convent of Vadstena in Sweden, the mother house of the Brigittines.

In Mediterranean Europe, prior to the Council of Trent, the practice had been to preserve the Eucharist in a chapel or separate church. Widespread in Italian churches was the use of tabernacles in the form of cupboards, such as that of Desiderio da Settignano for the church of Saint Lawrence in Florence or the numerous tabernacles the Della Robbia workshop produced for churches in Tuscany and Rome. These assumed the spread of chapels for the Blessed Sacrament, separate from the high altar. For

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[23] Edmond Demoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 1926).

[24] H. Thurston, "The Elevation," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912). accessed May 29, 2013.

[25] On sacrament houses, see also Achim Timmermann's contribution to this volume.

Maundy Thursday, they were specially decorated; one of the fundamental rites of this day was the consecration of the hosts for the next day, which could not take place on Holy Friday, the day of the death of the Lord. After consecration, in a rite of symbolic entombment, the Eucharist was carried in procession around the church beneath a canopy and stored in a side altar or the tabernacle, at times designated as "the altar of repose."[26]

The practice of building tabernacles separate from the principle altar, as well as the dedication of important chapels to the Blessed Sacrament, continued in the major basilicas. Beginning in 1585, at the request of Pope Sixtus V, Domenico Fontana built the first of these following the Council in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.[27] Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament came to give the tabernacle so central a role that, in a break with this tradition, it was placed upon the main altar, visible from all parts of the building. It was a way to show all eyes the real presence and put forward the consecrated host for the devotion of the faithful. The tabernacle, even closed, thus became the sign of that presence, further signaled through a light; it was the permanent recepticle of the body of God, under the form of the host. Preserved thus, the Blessed Sacrament only left the main altar on Maundy Thursdays and Holy Fridays, to be replaced on the altar behind the main altar, which also often housed relics.[28] Carlo Borromeo was the principle promoter of altars with a central tabernacle in an elevated position, which he strove to have adopted in the churches within his diocese of Milan. Elevated tabernacles spread through dioceses in the Italian peninsula over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as episcopal visitations testify.[29]

There were ancient traditions that sometimes led French cathedrals to refuse the tabernacle under the form of a coffin or armoir upon the altar, in order to preserve an older practice of suspending the Eucharist. At the beginning of the modern era, this was a ciborium, most often in bronze or gold, in the shape of a dove or a tower suspended from an elongated chain. An angel usually surmounted the ensemble. The entire suspended object, covered with cloth, was to contain no more than two

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[26] Andrew Butterfield and Caroline Elam, "Desiderio da Settignano's Tabernacle of the Sacrament," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 43, no. 2/3 (1999): 333–357.

[27] Mathieu Lours, *L'autre temps des cathédrales, du concile de Trente à la révolution* (Paris, 2010), p. 84.

[28] Lours, *L'autre temps des cathédrales*, pp. 48–49.

[29] The case of the Piedmont has been studied by Angelo Torre, *Il consumo di devozioni. Religione e communità nelle campagne dell'Ancien Régime* (Venezia, 1995), pp. 262–264.

or three hosts, while hosts reserved for communion were kept in a tabernacle placed against a wall. The traditional arrangement was particularly well suited to show the character of the intermediary between heaven and earth that God made for humankind and the mystery of the Incarnation. The eucharistic suspension was frequently associated with the practice of the perpetual adoration.

This practice was not a creation of the Counter-Reformation. The first mention occurs in the thirteenth century, before the institution of Corpus Christi, with which it is associated. On 11 September 1226, it was effectively instituted in Avignon, according to the wish of Louis VII, victor against the Albigensians. The veiled Blessed Sacrament was then revealed in the chapel of the Holy Cross. In response to the influx of the faithful, Bishop Pierre de Corbie decided to extend the night as well as the day. The practice was not interrupted until the French Revolution in 1792.[30]

This devotion spread to Spain, where Philip II founded the Vigil of the Blessed Sacrament in the Escorial: two religious were permanently assigned to pray before the tabernacle. In the seventeenth century, the French school of spirituality developed a theology of the Incarnation which, in meditating on the states of Christ, called for him to be adored under the form of the consecrated host. In 1641, Gaston de Renty, member of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament—who were supposed to act in secret, like Christ hidden in the host—founded a female association for the perpetual adoration in the church of Saint Paul in Paris.

In 1648, the perpetual adoration was established at Saint-Sulpice in reparation for an outrage against the host. It was also also founded in 1667 in the church of the l'Hôtel-Dieu in Lyon. In France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the perpetual adoration was instituted at one time or another in all churches and chapels of certain dioceses, first in those of Chartres and Amiens, then in Lyon, Evreux, and Rouen. If doors of churches and chapels were open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. for lay adoration, then religious communities that had a chapel of the Blessed Sacrament enacted the adoration day and night, reflected in the frequency of this devotion among regular religious. At the monastery of Port-Royal du Saint-Sacrement in Paris, the religious developed a particular devotion. The first chapter of their constitutions, titled "De la vénération du

[30] J. McMahon, "Perpetual Adoration," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907), accessed May 28, 2012, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01152a.htm.

Saint-Sacrement," stated that they were intended for "the veneration of this august mystery," and to

> rendre une continuelle assistance au Saint-Sacrement, partageant par ce moyen leur exercice avec les prêtres, eux le mettant sur les autels, et elles l'adorant d'une continuelle adoration jour et nuit les unes après les autres.[31]

If Corpus Christi had been inscribed into the liturgical calendar and the perpetual adoration tended to reorganize Catholic time around the sacrament of the altar, two other forms of eucharistic devotion first appeared as exceptional and became ordinary: the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and the prayers of the Forty Hours' Devotion. The latter appeared in Milan during the 1520s. In the face of crisis, the prayers were organized in the Lomdard capital. The expiatory tone thus echoed strongly; itself a reference to the "symbolic mysticism" of the number forty, the length of time invoked the time separating Christ's death from his resurrection. It is not entirely certain if the very first instance of this cult took place in the presence of the eucharist, but the bull of 1537 established a solemn rite, with the exhibition of the Blessed Sacrament and, for the first time, offering indulgences for the faithful.[32] The Forty Hours' Devotion spread to numerous Italian villages. In 1540, Philip Neri introduced it to Rome and, in 1592, Pope Clement VIII instituted it at the Sistine Chapel. The success of this new liturgy is very closely linked to the activity of the Capuchins, notably Joseph de Ferno, supposed to be its initiator. Even if other orders, such as the Barnabites, claim paternity, and the Jesuits were its ardent propagators, the Capuchins truly assured its success through organizing it systematically at its debut, and even more, making it the goal of their missions. In 1620, the Capuchins obtained the confirmation of a plenary indulgence for the Forty Hours' Devotion that they had organized in their conventual churches and the extension of that indulgence to the cathedrals where they preached. They fostered Baroque stagings, which included the exhibition of tableaux in which the subjects were exalting the Eucharist and the deployment of some kind of apparatus,

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[31] Véronique Alemany and Jean Lesaulnier, eds., *Constitutions du monastère de Port-Royal du Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 2004), p. 22.

[32] Bernard Dompnier, "Un aspect de la dévotion eucharistique dans la France du XVIIe siècle: les prières des Quarante-Heures," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* LXVII, no. 178 (1981): 6.

particularly a light, depending upon the wealth and resources of the place of the ceremony.

The Forty Hours' Devotion was at once a "cérémonie d'expiation et d'imploration de la clémence divine" and a"culte d'exaltation du Saint-Sacrement face à tous ses ennemis, libertins ou hérétiques."[33] The penitential dimension, which was very much present during its first years, can also be found later when it was organized to invoke divine protection or implore divine pardon in dramatic circumstances, specifically in the face of peril or for the extirpation of heresy. Under Louis XIV's rule in France, the Devotion was organized when the kingdom faced military defeat or famine. In Italy, even more than in France, it was celebrated at the beginning of Lent; certain religious even transformed the preamble of their sermons into atonement for transgressions committed during Carnival. The Forty Hours' Devotion, during which the faithful, in theory, pray incessantly before an exposed monstrance, over time lost its exceptional character, little by little, and came to be trivialized at the end of the seventeenth century.

In July 1686, Rome officially authorized interruption during the night, which upset the clergy, who pointed out that for the faithful, the plenary indulgence depended upon continuous devotion.[34] First celebrated in exceptional circumstances, facing danger or for a brilliant victory, it tended to become integrated into the annual liturgical calendar, a kind of banalization, which proved a more fundamental break, as it was sometimes organized for the Assumption of the Virgin and celebrated at altars dedicated to her.

The remarkable success of the Forty Hours' Devotion was accompanied by another form of eucharistic devotion, less grand, less spectacular, but more consistently a part of Catholic devotional practices of the Counter Reformation: the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. This seems to have been a fusion of a ceremony, at night, in honor of the Virgin and the practice of the exhibition and the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, both of which existed at the end of the Middle Ages.[35] That said, it was not until the seventeenth century in France that this particular liturgical form in the cadre of devotions to the host acquired its principle characteris-

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[33] Dompnier, "Un aspect," p. 8.

[34] Dompnier, "Un aspect," p. 25.

[35] Alexis Meunier, "Les saluts du Saint-Sacrement. Liturgie et musique en France (1600–1774)" (Thèse de l'École des Chartes, 2004), le résumé est consultable sur, accessed May 28, 2012, http://theses.enc.sorbonne.fr/2004/meunier.

tics, above all, the benediction, first instituted during Corpus Christi, that came to be celebrated throughout the year in parishes, Parisian convents, and the court. In the royal chapel, it was celebrated for Corpus Christi and its octave from the beginning of the 1630s.

This new ceremony occasioned the composition of numerous motets chanted in convents. Despite opposition, which feared that too frequent exhibition of the Blessed Sacrament risked its banalization, the Benediction witnessed great success, perhaps in part because of the great plasticity of this ceremony. It could be brief and intimate, but also have a more mundane character, as is the case in the Parisian convent of the Theatines, where Paolo Lorenzani's musical compositions for the ceremony were compared to opera. From the moment when Louis XIV instituted it in the court at Versailles in 1682, the liturgical Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was celebrated every Thursday, ultimately after noon, in the royal chapel, and every Sunday as well during the octave of Corpus Christi.[36]

In its most frequent performance, the Benediction began with songs, one or more motets, followed by various prayers, then a time of silence for adoration before the Blessed Sacrament, which was uncovered before the celebrant gave the benediction. Studies of the foundation of the Benediction in parishes note that this gesture allowed the founders to increase the solemnity of the feast. While the faithful prayed for the salvation of their souls, the Benediction encompassed at once all their own prayers and prayers for the dead. The author of a study of the foundation of the Benediction in Angers during the modern period concluded:

> S'il existe une liturgie baroque, le salut vespéral célébré en l'honneur de l'Eucharistie et des saints intercesseurs, annoncé au peuple par les volées de cloches, orné d'un luminaire abondant et de musique d'orgue, en est sans doute la meilleure expression.[37]

Contested Practices

Eucharistic devotion was the subject of a remarkable liturgical creativity at the end of the Middle Ages, and even more during the Counter Reformation. Just as the cult of the saints and of the Virgin and the

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[36] Alexandre Maral, *Le Roi-Soleil et Dieu* (Paris, 2012), p. 64.

[37] Jean de Viguerie, "Les fondations et la piété du peuple fidèle: Les saluts fondés à Angers aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 81, no. 3 (1974): 597.

veneration of relics marked Catholicism, so, too, did the cult of the Blessed Sacrament. The triumphalism of the glorification of the real presence is most evident in those Forty Hours' Devotions organized in a context of religious coexistence of Catholics and Reformed Christians. It deployed grandiose ceremonies designed to convince the latter of the superiority of Catholicism. The prohibitions of Reformed pastors against attending celebrations organized on the occasion of Reformed provincial or national synods suggest by counterpoint how the spectacle might draw some away. In France, Corpus Christi and its processions could be an occasion of tension, since the Reformed minority were confined to their homes during the celebration and required to bow at the passage of the Blessed Sacrament, whose divinity they denied. In sixteenth-century Paris, demanding that one carry the canopy was a means of unmasking Reformed belief; refusal was taken as a sign of Evangelical belief.[38]

Eucharistic miracles were also manifestations of the real presence in the face of disbelief; they were particularly frequent along the "frontiers of Catholicity."[39] Christ, infant or adult, appeared in the host at the moment of elevation or of communion.[40] Divine presence might also manifest itself in the Blessed Sacrament at other times as well. One of the most significant miracles occurred at Faverney on Pentecost, 1608. A host not only escaped flames that consumed the building but also remained suspended, defying laws of gravity. In the eyes of observers, the miracle was as much a denial of wrongful behavior on the part of canons as an affirmation of true Catholic belief. Huguenots were accused, in effect, of profaning the host, an accusation made against Jews in the Middle Ages. Engravings preserved the memory of the miracle well into the eighteenth century.

Usually a manifestation of Catholic unanimity, reverence towards the host could also be the occasion for tensions among Catholics. During the sixteenth century, confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament multiplied. The first, founded in the Dominican church of Santa Maria de la Minerva in Rome, was formally instituted as an archetypal confraternity by a bull

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[38] Jean-Marie Le Gall, "Porter le dais le dais du Saint-Sacrement à Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie au XVIe siècle," in *Être parisien: Paris et Île de France, Mémoires*, vol. 55 (Paris, 2004), pp. 493–518.

[39] For a study of one of the most famous of these eucharistic miracles, see Corinne Marchal et Manuel Tramaux, eds., *Le miracle de Faverney (1608). L'eucharistie: environnement et temps de l'histoire*. Actes du colloque de Faverney (9 et 10 mai 2008) (Besançon, 2010).

[40] Philippe Martin, *Le théâtre divin*, pp. 64–68: "les grandes merveilles eucharistiques datent essentiellement des XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Si elles demeurent nombreuses dans l'Italie du XVIIIe siècle, la France semble plus réservée."

of Pope Paul III in 1539.[41] Its first affiliated houses were most numerous in Italy and Spain, arriving later in France. As they developed, they acquired the characteristics of devotional confraternities: open to all, with relatively modest rights of entry, favoring individual prayer.[42] But they also functioned to foster public worship, through their processions or carrying the host to the sick; with the latter, a bell preceded the Blessed Sacrament to call the brothers to attend. These confraternities also battled heresy: in 1561 a confraternity was instituted in Rouen "pour réparer l'honneur du Saint-Sacrement."[43] Generally, members carried the canopy of the Blessed Sacrament ahead of the procession. Over time, the egalitarian character of the confraternity disappeared. Jean-Marie Le Gall has shown that in Paris, those carrying the canopy on Corpus Christi in the parish of Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie came from the urban nobility and that obtaining this distinction initiated a *cursus honorum*.[44] More broadly, Corpus Christi processions occasioned quarrels of precedence, the liturgy became a field of social rivalry, viewed politically. In Seville, the organization of the feast consumed a tenth of the city's annual expenditures; some magistrates' ambition to attach their name to Corpus Christi was particularly striking. The procession was, like other religious ceremonies had been, an opportunity to display the urban hierarchy—nobility following clergy, closer than other laity to the Corpus Christi. This association of urban power with the celebration of Corpus Christi also crystalized a point of tension. In spring 1652, a plot was discovered to slaughter the nobles and magistrates at the procession in replication of the Corpus de Sangre of Barcelona in 1640.[45]

If such plots were unusual, the concern to honor the presence of the divine was constant. One expression of that concern was the effort to exclude any secular elements. The Archbishop of Seville, Palafox y Cardona, at the end of the seventeenth century, for instance, sought to prevent saltimbanques from entering the cathedral and to prohibit the use of masks during the octave of Corpus Christi.

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[41] Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, "De la confrérie du Saint-Sacrement au culte du Sacré-Cœur: le passage de l'homme à l'individu," *Provence historique* 39, no. 156 (1989), pp. 135–151.

[42] Marc Venard, *Le catholicisme à l'épreuve dans la France du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2000), pp. 237–248.

[43] Venard, *Le catholicisme*, p. 239.

[44] Jean-Marie, "Porter le dais," p. 498.

[45] Jean Sentaurens, "La mise en scène du pouvoir."

In the eyes of the rigorists, the too great familiarity which followed upon the banalization of holy things was the major risk incurred by the eucharistic cult, whether in the celebration of the Mass, communion, or Corpus Christi. During the Mass, the mystery of the sacrament was redoubled through liturgical arrangements. In the *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum* (1516), Josse Clictove found that Christ or the apostles had directly instituted the Canon and, as such, it was not to be modified. Similarly, it was necessary in his eyes that the Canon be recited *soto voce*, in order that the laity could not hear and learn it. These prescriptions underlined the distance between the faithful and the celebrant, priest of the sacrifice, who pronounced the words of consecration in Latin *soto voce*.

Beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century, Gallicans and French Jansenists, among others, opposed this radical separation of clergy and laity. They opposed the multiplication of private Masses without attendants; demanded the Canon be spoken in a loud voice; and declared that the faithful pronouce the Amen during communion. These practices had the merit, according to some authors, of affirming the doctrine of the real presence for new Catholics, in the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[46] For those holding them, the restitution of a communal meal was the restitution of the practice of the early church. The ritual of Metz further stipulated that the faithful could only receive hosts consecrated in the Mass they had attended. Others, such as the Jansenist Jacques Jubé, curate of Asnières, recited the Canon in a loud voice, and some of the faithful, believing that the Mass is "le sacrifice de toute l'Église, c'est-à-dire du prêtre et du peuple," took the initiative and recited the Canon at the same time.[47]

The Fourth Lateran Council had made obligatory annual Easter communion, but the emphasis on the divine nature of the consecrated host in the context of confessional struggle engendered a new debate over the question of the frequency of communion. As spiritual nourishment, some held, the Eucharist was an indispensible food for the faithful, capable of increasing their faith. For others, however, the divine nature of the body of Christ demanded that communicants be beyond reproach, or at least be as worthy as possible. There are stories of the unworthy receiving frequent communion and then being struck down. Prior confession

[46] Jean-Louis Quantin, *Le catholicisme classique et les pères de l'Église. Un retour aux sources (1669–1713)* (Paris, 1999), pp. 535–560.

[47] Martin, *Le théâtre divin*, p. 27, citing Nicolas Le Tourneux.

was indispensible, but there arose the question of refusing communion to an inveterate sinner. Debates among the faithful are emblematic of the fascination with the real presence in the host and respect mixed with the apprehension it raised. If some wanted spiritual food which could not but nourish their faith, others, foremost the Jansenists, saw in the sacrament an act so solemn and terrible that one could not but approach it with dread. Antoine Arnauld, in his 1643 work, *La fréquente communion*, argued against too assiduous attendance at altars, which would lead to the banalization of the act. This recommendation for a more solemn and rare communion, for which one prepared oneself, is inseparable from the central place the Blessed Sacrament occupied at the Abbey Port-Royal.

Communion was accorded more capital importance when it was the viaticum of the last rites of the dying. The order of administering the rites varied from diocese to diocese throughout the period, reflecting the importance accorded the various sacraments and the degree to which death inspired awe. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, the most frequent practice was to proceed to confession and the annointing of the sick (extreme unction) before receiving communion, as if annointing completed the purification of the soul, rendering the penitent truly worthy to receive communion before appearing before the Lord. In the case of imminent death, the Eucharist would be administered before annointing. An early study of French rituals, the *Traité des superstitions* of Jean-Baptiste Thiers, seems to indicate that this order reversed at the end of the seventeenth century in connection with an older idea, that the last rites announce automatically the coming death—even were a patient to recover (temporarily), he would be forced into abstinence. Following superstition, the faithful tended to confess and receive the viaticum and defer extreme unction to the very end.[48] Rigorist authors, including Thiers, pleaded for extreme unction to be administered before communion, but their position never took hold. Handbooks for rituals, such as that of Paris of 1697, recommended keeping to the Tridentine practice when possible and to administer communion to the sick before extreme unction. The administration of the sacraments may also have become a means of restraint in doctrinal quarrels. In his conflict with the Jansenists, the archbishop of Paris asked his clergy to refuse communion to those

[48] "La mention de la peur de l'extrême-onction devient (…) ou redevient, omniprésente à la fin du XVIIe siècle et surtout au XVIIIe, où on la retrouve mentionnée jusque dans les rituels, qui sont en principe des ouvrages disciplinaires et liturgiques où le 'psychologique 'ne devrait guère s'immiscer," Quantin, *Le catholicisme classique*, p. 532.

faithful who could not prove, through a certificate of confession, that they accepted the papal bull, Unigenitus, condemning Jansenist theses. The conflict reached its apogee in Paris during the 1750s, when morally impeccable dying were refused the viaticum.[49]

The last eucharistic practice to provoke dissension among Catholics was the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Jansenists and those close to Port-Royal favored suspending the host, because it offered the Eucharist for veneration of the faithful while removing it from scrutiny. The convent's constitution further emphasized:

> Le Saint-Sacrement sera perpétuellement suspendu sur l'autel pour plusieurs grandes raisons, et entre les autres pour honorer le fils de Dieu descendant du Ciel en terre pour s'incarner dans le sein de la Vierge, et ensuite descendant du même Ciel pour se rendre en une nouvelle manière sur l'autel. Pour marquer aussi que c'est un pain non commun ou terrestre, mais le pain descendu du Ciel pour donner la vie au monde.[50]

If the laity showed the desire to "see the host," the nuns were advised that they should not wish to contemplate the Blessed Sacrament too often, which was sparingly unveiled and exhibited: "le plus caché de tous les mystères" should only be visible in exceptional circumstances.[51] In 1618, the cardinals of the congregation of the Council reminded regular clergy that the exposition of the host should be rare. A few years later, Thiers echoed this recommendation, which, in his eyes, worked against the banalization and the too great familiary that came as a consequence of too frequent practice:

> La rareté estant ce qui donne le prix aux choses, on doit rarement exposer la divine Eucharistie, si l'on veut luy procurer plus de respect . . . les Mystères ne devant pas estre si publics ny si communs, l'Eucharistie qui est le Mystère des Mystères, ne doit pas estre si fréquemment exposée, de crainte qu'on ne la méprise.[52]

He also called for a certain decorum surrounding the ceremony, specifically that the divine body ought to be given the deference of a grand personage: "il doit toujours y avoir un certain nombre de cierges allumés devant cet auguste Sacrement exposé, et quelques ecclésiastiques ou

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[49] Nicolas Lyon-Caen, *La boîte à Perrette. Le jansénisme parisien au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2010), ch. 7.

[50] Alemany and Lesaulnier, *Constitutions du monastère,* p. 29.

[51] Alemany and Lesaulnier, *Constitutions du monastère*, p. 26.

[52] Jean-Baptiste Thiers, *Traité de l'exposition du Saint-Sacrement de l'autel* (Paris, 1673), p. 195.

quelques religieux debout et tête nue."[53] Such exposition, he held, was conducive to contemplation and adoration, and involved, in his eyes, in so far as possible, "on ne célébrast aucun office divins aux autels où le Saint-Sacrement est exposé en évidence, ou du moins que cela ne se fist que très rarement." As a consequence, only on public occasions, "une cause publique," was there to be an exposition of the host.[54] This was the position of the most demanding of the rigorists: "la religion de Thiers est une religion de la pureté toujours menacée, où le seul regard suffit à souiller l'absolue blancheur du Dieu-Hostie."[55]

The fecundity of the liturgy and of the paraliturgy of the Eucharist between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries is largely in line with the reaffirmation of the doctrine of the real presence, which became an identifying mark of Catholicism. But it is also in line with the expectations of the faithful and the development of a "sensual religion," in which the host summarized for them the mystery of the Incarnation. This liturgical richness also reflects the suspicions and the criticisms of certain clergy, who saw in innovations the risk of desacralization. Despite potential conflict, the Eucharist, the Corpus Christi, was at the heart of Catholic practices. Louis Grignion de Montfort and Alphonse de Liguori, author of *Visites au Saint-Sacrement*, were encouraged in the eighteenth century, finding signs of the vitality of this cult at the very moment when devotion to the Sacred Heart began to develop.

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[53] Thiers, *Traité de l'exposition*, p. 317.
[54] Thiers, *Traité de l'exposition*, p. 396.
[55] Quantin, *Le catholicisme classique*, p. 541.

FROM SACRIFICE TO SUPPER: EUCHARISTIC PRACTICE IN THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

Thomas H. Schattauer

Figure 1. Lucas Cranach the Elder and the Younger, *Altar of the Sacraments* or *Wittenberg Altarpiece*, City Church Wittenberg, 1547. (Photo: with permission of the Stadtkirchengemeinde Wittenberg).

The Reformation-era altarpiece in the City Church of Saint Mary at Wittenberg, Germany, provides a stunning visual testimony to the understanding and practice of the Eucharist promoted by Martin Luther and Lutheran reformers throughout the course of the sixteenth century (Fig. 1).[1]

[1] For a fuller discussion of the altarpiece, see Birgit Ulrike Münch's contribution to this volume. See also Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago, 2004).

Completed by Lucas Cranach the Elder in 1547, the year after Luther's death, the altarpiece stands in the church that was the site of the first Evangelical Masses from Luther and in the city from which the Lutheran Reformation and its distinctive eucharistic practice was disseminated. The central and largest panel of the open triptych depicts the Lord's Supper and so testifies to the centrality of the Eucharist in early Lutheran practice. Jesus is shown seated with his disciples around the table of the Last Supper. Those gathered for this meal with Jesus, however, bear the likenesses of several contemporary Wittenbergers, including Luther himself receiving the cup, and they sit before a window, which opens onto a contemporary German landscape. Flanking the large, central Lord's Supper panel are two smaller panels. The panel on the left depicts the washing of baptism, and on the right the conferral of absolution. These are the sacraments as taught and practiced among the Lutherans: the two principle sacraments of baptism and the Supper, and the word of forgiveness, which Luther understood sacramentally as "nothing else than a return and approach to baptism."[2] Supporting the triptych of sacramental practice, a lower panel portrays the reading and proclamation of the word of God. Luther gestures toward an image of the crucified Christ at the center, which stands before a congregation of contemporaries gathered to hear this word. The altarpiece shows the central practices of the Eucharist viewed as Supper from a Lutheran perspective: eating and drinking in the presence of the Lord, accompanied by the reading of Scripture and the preaching of Christ crucified, and a congregation of the baptized and forgiven gathered around.

A comparison of Cranach's altarpiece with Rogier van der Weyden's Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments from a century earlier highlights the contrast to late medieval understandings and practice of the Eucharist. Like Cranach's Reformation altarpiece, the central panel of the Seven Sacraments altarpiece depicts the Eucharist (Fig. 2).[3] In the foreground, a large image of the crucified Christ surrounded by the witnesses of the

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[2] Martin Luther, *The Large Catechism*, in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), p. 466. For the German and Latin texts of the Lutheran confessional writings, see *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche: herausgegeben im Gedenkjahr Augsburgischen Konfession 1930*, 12th ed. (Göttingen, 1998) hereafter BSLK, p. 706.

[3] The Bishop of Tournai, Jean Chevrot, commissioned the altarpiece for the Church of St-Hippolyte in Poligny. It is now located at the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp. See Caterina Limentani Virdis and Mari Pietrogiovanna, *Great Altarpieces: Gothic and Renaissance* (New York, 2002), pp. 70–81.

Figure 2. Rogier van der Weyden, *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments*, 1440–1445, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Anwerp. (Photo credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)

Crucifixion mentioned in John's Gospel (19: 25–27) rises in the middle of a Gothic nave. In the background, in a chapel at the crossing of the nave a priest celebrates a private Mass.[4] The smaller panels of the triptych show the remaining sacraments: baptism, confirmation, and penance on the left; and ordination, marriage, and extreme unction on the right. The altarpiece attests to the centrality of the Mass among the seven sacraments and its relation to the sacrifice of the cross and the ministry of the priest.

The two altarpieces visually document the transformation of eucharistic practice brought by the Lutheran Reformation. The Reformation

[4] On the Mass, see the contributions of Gary Macy, Robert J. Daly, Isabelle Brian, and Jaime Lara in this volume. On the relationship of the Mass to the Crucifixion and the sacrifice of the Mass, see especially Daly.

altarpiece images the Eucharist as a meal for eating and drinking, the Lord himself present at the table with his disciples (past and present), in visual contrast to a priest at an altar with a lone server. The Cranach image suggests the communal Mass of a congregation gathered around its Lord, contrasting implicitly with the medieval practice of the private Mass celebrated by a priest. The Eucharist in the Cranach altarpiece rises out of the outstretched arms of the crucified Christ, who is himself the Word proclaimed from the Scriptures and preached by a minister of the Word. In the earlier altarpiece, the cross of the Crucified presents itself, not through a word that is heard, but in what is seen: the elevated host consecrated by a priest.

In each altarpiece, the Eucharist is at center, but in very different sacramental constellations. The Cranach altarpiece situates the Eucharist in a new configuration of word and sacrament, not at the center of a system of seven sacraments. In addition, Cranach's altarpiece includes that window on the world in contrast to the illuminated but enclosed ecclesial space of the Seven Sacraments. Is there in this an implication that the fruit of the Eucharist, the fruit of word and sacrament, is faithful life in the world?

The efforts of Luther and other Lutheran reformers reconfigured the Mass: from a Mass celebrated by a priest and understood as a sacrifice, to a communal Mass understood and practiced as Supper and served by a ministry of the Word. Cranach's altarpiece provides a visual introduction to the following account of eucharistic practice in the Lutheran Reformation, beginning with Luther and culminating in the Lutheran church orders.

The Course of Reform: From Luther to the Lutheran Church Orders

A new practice of the Eucharist among those called Lutheran began with the reforming work of Martin Luther, Augustinian friar, priest, and professor at the newly founded university at Wittenberg.[5] Luther's sacramental and liturgical writings provided much of the impetus for the reform of eucharistic practice, as did his collaboration with other reformers, particularly Johannes Bugenhagen, the pastor of the City Church in Wittenberg. Political authorities within the various German territories and Scandinavian

[5] On Luther's eucharistic theology, see Volker Leppin's contribution to this volume.

countries that followed Luther's reform and subscribed to the teaching of the Augsburg Confession (1530) instituted the Lutheran Reformation, including the reform of liturgical practice. Church orders (*Kirchenordnungen*), the official documents governing the reform of church life, provided instructions, service orders, and texts for the celebration of the Mass or Lord's Supper. Through them, Luther's proposals for an Evangelical Mass took shape in local churches.[6]

A statement from the Augsburg Confession provides a summary account of the reform of eucharistic practice:

> Now since the Mass is not a sacrifice for others, living or dead, to take away their sins, but should be a Communion where the priest and others receive the sacrament for themselves, we celebrate it in this fashion. On holy days and at other times when communicants are present, Mass is celebrated, and those who desire it receive the sacrament. Thus, the Mass remains among us in its proper use, as it was observed formerly in the church.[7]

The Evangelical Mass was an act of communion (*Kommunion*) in contrast to the sacrifice of the Mass as practiced in the Roman church. It culminated in the reception of the sacrament, which, Luther said, is the Mass in its "proper use." In this way, the Lutheran Eucharist resembled a meal: bread and wine, the sacramental signs of Christ's body and blood, used for eating and drinking by those present. According to the reformers, the communion meal was not a new thing, but a return to the Mass "observed formerly in the church." Lutheran reformers regularly used "Lord's Supper" (*Abendmahl des Herrn, Herrenmahl, coena Domini*) as the term of choice for the celebration of the sacrament according to the Lord's own

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[6] See Irmgard Pahl, ed., *Coena Domini I: Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert*, Spicilegium Friburgense 29 (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1983); Frieder Schulz's introduction includes a helpful chart that maps the relation of the various Reformation-era church orders, p. 5. For general introductions to Lutheran eucharistic practice in the Reformation, see Gordon W. Lathrop, "Gottesdienst in lutherischen Kontext," in *Handbuch der Liturgik*, 3rd ed., ed. Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, Michael Meyer-Blank, and Karl-Heinrich Bieritz (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 151–155; Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, "Die Eucharistie," in *Handbuch der Liturgik*, pp. 221–227; Karl-Heinrich Bieritz, *Liturgik* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 446–474; Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis, 1997), pp. 267–356, 393–447; and Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 94–138.

[7] *The Augsburg Confession*, art. 24 (English translation of German text), in *Book of Concord*, p. 70; BSLK, pp. 94–95.

institution.[8] The terminology itself captures the essence of the reform in eucharistic practice.

Luther's Early Work

Luther's early writings on the Eucharist show that from the start the discussion of the Supper in the church's life was not purely conceptual, but involved significant matters of liturgical practice. In the 1519 treatise on *The Blessed Sacrament*,[9] Luther expressed his desire that all participants in the sacrament be allowed to receive both bread and wine "for the sake of the completeness and perfection of the sign" instituted by Christ,[10] in contrast to the medieval practice of reception in one kind (the bread), if at all, on the part of the laity, and in both kinds (bread and wine) by the priest alone. For Luther, the sacramental sign was not simply bread and wine but eating and drinking these things: "The sacrament, or external sign, consists in the form or appearance of bread and wine," and "the bread and wine must be used in eating and drinking."[11]

Luther's concern focused on the right use of the sacrament. Right use was a matter of reception and faith. It involved more than watching the priest elevate the consecrated host. Moreover, liturgical practice was tied directly to sacramental understanding. With regard to communion in both kinds, Luther observed, "this sacrament [of the Body of Christ] . . . signifies the complete union and the undivided fellowship of the saints; and this is poorly and unfittingly indicated by [distributing] only one part of the sacrament."[12]

Luther's 1520 *Treatise on the New Testament*[13] articulates a reforming principle that characterized a Lutheran approach to eucharistic practice.

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[8] See, for example, *Augsburg Confession*, art. 10, in *Book of Concord*, pp. 44–45; BSLK, p. 64.

[9] "The Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ, and the Brotherhoods," *Luther's Works: American Edition* (Philadelphia, 1955–86), hereafter LW, 35: 49–73 "Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Bruderschaften," *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar, 1883–2009), hereafter WA, 2: 742–758.

[10] LW 35: 50.

[11] LW 35: 49.

[12] LW 35: 50.

[13] "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass," LW 35: 79–111; "Ein Sermon vom dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heilige Messe," WA 6: 353–378.

Luther distinguishes between what is essential, given in what Christ himself instituted, and thus from God, and what are human additions:

> The greatest and most useful art is to know what really and essentially belongs to the mass, and what is added and foreign to it . . . For I fear every day more than a thousand masses are said, of which perhaps not one is a real mass. O dear Christians, to have many masses is not to have *the* mass.[14]

For Luther, the words of Christ are the center of the Eucharist, specifically the scriptural *verba testamenti* or words of institution, in contrast to the forms and ceremonies that have developed through the centuries and distinguish the eucharistic rites of the Western Catholic and Eastern Orthodox traditions.[15] Although Luther had genuine regard for the human and historical shaping of liturgical practice, he was emphatic that these were not the central things. Thus, he writes:

> If we desire to observe mass properly and to understand it, then we must surrender everything that the eyes behold and the senses suggest—be it vestments, bells, songs, ornaments, prayers, processions, elevations, prostrations, or whatever happens in the mass—until we first grasp and thoroughly ponder the words of Christ, by which he performed and instituted the mass and commanded us to perform it. For therein lies the whole mass, its nature, work, profit, and benefit. Without the words nothing is derived from the mass.[16]

In Christ's words of institution, narrated in scripture and recited in the eucharistic liturgy, Luther found both the command for what is to be done and the promise of what is given and received, the true body and blood of Christ for "forgiveness of sin, life, and salvation," as he would later put it in his *Small Catechism*.[17]

The *Treatise on the New Testament* spells out some of the liturgical consequences of this focus on the essential things given in Christ's words of institution. In the first place, Luther criticizes the priest's secret or quiet utterance of the words of institution amidst the prayers of the Canon and advocates the words be sung aloud and in German so that those gathered

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[14] LW 35: 81–82.

[15] On the critical significance of the *verba testamenti* in Lutheran eucharistic practice, see Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, *Die Eucharistie als Entfaltung der Verba Testamenti: Eine formgeschichtlich-systematische Einführung in die Probleme des lutherischen Gottesdienstes und seiner Liturgie* (Kassel, 1957); also Schmidt-Lauber, "Die Eucharistie," pp. 226–227.

[16] LW 35: 82.

[17] *The Small Catechism*, in *Book of Concord*, p. 362; BSLK, p. 520.

might hear and understand them.[18] With that critique, Luther underscored the public and corporate character of the Eucharist against notions of the Mass primarily as a priestly action. In addition and with equally far-reaching consequences, Luther designates as abuses the practice of the Mass as a good work and as a sacrifice.[19] With this critique, Luther was taking on the medieval system of private Masses, including Masses for the dead and other particular intentions (votive Masses), for which monetary gifts were given and expected. The specific critique of the Mass as a good work sought to disengage the Mass from the notion of merit, by which human works gained favor with God. The specific critique of the Mass as a sacrifice sought to disengage the Mass from texts, ceremonial gestures, and interpretations that seemed to suggest the sacrament itself (the body and blood of Christ) was a sacrifice the priest offered to God. The practice of the Mass and the whole complex of practices surrounding the Mass had, in Luther's view, turned it into a meritorious work and specifically a priestly work of offering Christ's body and blood. For Luther, the proper use of the Mass involved faith in Christ's words of promise and receiving the sacramental signs of Christ's bodily presence.[20] The overarching course of the reform of eucharistic practice from sacrifice to Supper was set.

Even though his critique of the Mass as sacrifice was radical and carried implications for the reform of liturgical practice, Luther discouraged an immediate and unconsidered disruption of inherited practice. With Luther under imperial ban and confined to the Wartburg Castle for his protection, a fellow Wittenberg reformer Andreas Karlstadt celebrated the first Evangelical Mass on Christmas Day 1521. Soon after, the local authorities in Wittenberg promulgated a reform of church life, including

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[18] LW 35: 90–92.

[19] LW 35: 92–94, 94–101.

[20] In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), Luther makes the same arguments for the centrality of Christ's words of institution and against the Mass as a good work and sacrifice. See "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," LW 36: 35–57; "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium," WA 6: 512–526. On Luther and eucharistic sacrifice, see Kenneth Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering* (New York, 1986), esp. pp. 129–136; Gustaf Aulén, *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, trans. Eric Wahlstrom (Philadephia, 1958), esp. pp. 65–101; Carl F. Wisløff, *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice*, trans. Joseph M. Shaw (Minneapolis, 1964); James F. McCue, "Luther and Roman Catholicism on the Mass as Sacrifice," in *The Eucharist as Sacrifice, Lutheran and Catholics in Dialogue* 3 (New York, 1968), pp. 45–74; and Robert J. Daly, S.J., *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (London, 2009), esp. pp. 141–148.

instructions for celebrating the Mass.[21] Karlstadt eliminated the sacrificial offertory and Canon as well as the elevation, focused on the recitation of the words of institution in German, and provided for the lay reception of communion in both kinds. The reforms were accompanied by demonstrations against the sacrificial Mass and destruction of images in the churches.[22] Upon hearing reports of Karlstadt's reform efforts and the destruction, Luther returned to Wittenberg.

In a series of eight sermons given during the first week of Lent 1522 (Invocavit Sermons), and a subsequent publication entitled *Receiving Both Kinds in the Sacrament*,[23] Luther articulated a vision for the reform of liturgical practice governed by faith toward God, love of neighbor, and respect for Christian freedom. For example, although Luther favored communion in both kinds for the laity as part of Christ's institution and command, such a practice was not to be enforced immediately as a new ceremonial law.[24] Luther urged reformers to trust in the teaching and preaching of God's Word, to allow for freedom in external practices, and to practice that freedom in a way that demonstrated love of neighbor, especially the "weak" offended by sudden and radical liturgical change.[25] Luther's vehemence against the sacrifice of the Mass and private Masses was undiminished. Nevertheless, his influence moderated the character and pace of reform at Wittenberg.

Although Luther eschewed a coercive approach to the reform of liturgical practice, he still pressed for change.[26] Luther supported an end to the private Masses of priests. He encouraged daily services of Word and

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[21] Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, pp. 7–8, 13; also Bard Thompson, ed., *Liturgies of the Western Church* (repr., Philadelphia, 1980 [1961]), pp. 95–96.

[22] Thompson, *Liturgies*, p. 95.

[23] "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," LW 51: 70–100; "Acht Sermone D.M. Luthers von ihm gepredigt zu Wittenberg in der Fasten," WA 10 III: 1–64; "Receiving Both Kinds in the Sacrament," LW 36: 237–267; "Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments zu nehmen," WA 10 II: 11–41.

[24] LW 51: 90–91; LW 36: 254–256.

[25] Luther's approach to the exercise of freedom and love in regard to liturgical practice resonates with his theological writing in the 1520 treatise *The Freedom of a Christian:* "The Freedom of a Christian," LW 31: 343–377; "Tractatus de libertate Christiana," WA 7: 49–73. Luther writes: "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. / A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all," LW 31: 344.

[26] For what follows, see "Receiving Both Kinds," LW 36: 254–258, and "Concerning the Order of Public Worship," LW 53: 11–14; "Von Ordnung Gottesdienst in der Gemeine," WA 12: 5–37; also in *Evangelischer Gottesdienst: Quellen zu seiner Geschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Herbst (Göttingen, 1992), pp. 13–15.

prayer with psalm singing, morning and evening, instead of daily Mass, and promoted a Sunday Mass for the whole congregation, preferably with communicants. He also instructed priests celebrating Mass to omit the words of the Canon and other prayers containing the language of sacrifice. Most of all, Luther wanted the teaching and preaching of God's Word in the sermon to give direction to reform:

> Let everything be done so that the Word may have free course instead of the prattling and rattling that has been the rule up to now. We can spare everything except the Word.[27]

The sermon was to teach a right understanding of Christian freedom in relation to liturgical practices and to point to the promise of God in the words of Christ's institution. In contrast to Karlstadt's proposals, Luther was content at this early stage to "let the old practice continue":

> Let the mass be celebrated with consecrated vestments, with chants and all the usual ceremonies, in Latin, recognizing the fact that these are merely external matters which do not endanger the consciences of men.[28]

Luther's first fully articulated proposal for the reform of the Latin Mass in *An Order of Mass* (*Formula missae*) of 1523 unfolded along these lines. The *German Mass* (*Deutsche Messe*), which followed in 1526, provided for a Mass in the German vernacular (see Appendices 1–3 for structural outlines of these proposals for reform).[29]

An Order of Mass (1523)

The full title of this work, *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittembergensi* (*An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at*

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[27] LW 53: 14.

[28] LW 36: 254.

[29] On Luther's Mass reforms, see Hans Bernahrd Meyer, *Luther und die Messe: Eine liturgiewissenschaftliche Untersuchung über das Verhältnis Luthers zum Meßwesen des späten Mittelalters* (Paderborn, 1965); Frieder Schulz, "Luthers liturgische Reformen: Kontinuität und Innovation," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 25 (1983): 249–275, esp. 256–263; Ottfried Jordahn, "Martin Luthers Kritik an der Meßliturgie seiner Zeit," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984): 1–17; Reinhard Meßner, *Die Meßreform Martin Luthers und die Eucharistie der Alten Kirche: Ein Beitrag zu einer systematischen Liturgiewissenschaft* (Innsbruck, 1989); Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, 2012), esp. pp. 233–261.

Wittenberg),[30] summarizes its character and purpose. Luther provided an order for Mass in Latin. In the first place, Luther preserved much of the tradition. His order stood in the historical tradition of the Western Latin Mass, even as it proposed reform. The *et communionis* testifies to the document's reforming intent. Luther's Mass was regularly to include communion. In contrast to the Mass celebrated without communicants, Luther's Mass presumed participants to receive the bread and cup, and it aimed to engage them in a life-giving communion with Christ and all who belonged to him. Finally, it was *pro ecclesia Wittembergensi*, for the church in a particular place. Rather than a universal ritual prescription, *An Order of Mass* provided for the reform of the Mass in Wittenberg and a model for the reform of liturgical practice in other local churches. Luther's introductory comments make clear both his conserving and reforming intentions:

> It is not now nor ever has been our intention to abolish the liturgical service of God completely, but rather to purify the one that is now in use from the wretched accretions which corrupt it and to point out an evangelical use.[31]

Luther's *An Order of Mass* was not, properly speaking, a new liturgical book, but an outline and commentary on how to use the local liturgical books—missal, antiphonary, and lectionary—for the conduct of an Evangelical Mass. Luther did not intend to establish a new (Lutheran) rite, but to reform eucharistic practice in accord with Christ's own command and promise as he understood them, and to release the church at worship from what he held to be its captivity to abuses of the Mass. Luther's mass order took as its model the sung, choral form of Mass for Sunday and feast days, instead of the spoken form of daily and private Masses. Luther intended the Evangelical Mass to be communal and congregational in its form, rather than priestly and clerical, and he set the course for worship that was musically shaped and participatory. One of Luther's hesitations in moving too quickly to a fully vernacular liturgy was the need for German texts and German songs to replace the tremendous repository of liturgical song and chant in Latin.[32]

The order in Luther's Latin Mass (Appendix 1) closely corresponds to the Roman *Order of the Mass* (*Ordo missae*). Luther made no change to

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[30] "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," LW 53: 19–40; "Formulae missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittembergensi," WA 12: 205–220; also Herbst, *Evangelisher Gottesdienst*, pp. 17–49; eucharistic portion only in Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, pp. 33–36.

[31] LW 53: 20.

[32] LW 53: 36–37; also, p. 90.

the fundamental structure of the Mass as an integrated celebration of word (scripture) and sacrament (supper). He maintained the basic elements of the ordinary and propers of the Latin Mass. Luther simplified the rite by eliminating most of the private prayers of the priest, which had been added over the course of time to the communal structure of the Mass, including, for example, the recitation of Psalm 43 and the Confiteor ("I confess") at the beginning of Mass prior to the entrance chant (Introit) and a number of prayers at the offertory and communion. In addition to this clarification of the communal character of the Mass, the celebration Luther described in his mass order involved these significant transformations: (1) addition of a vernacular sermon as a regular part of the order of the Mass; (2) elimination of the sacrificial prayers and actions of the Mass—offertory, Canon, and fraction; (3) revision of the Canon to give central place to the words of institution, sung aloud; 4) provision for the communion of the people; and (5) encouragement to the singing of vernacular hymns, especially in connection with the reading of the Gospel and at communion.

The sermon and congregational hymn-singing are the vernacular elements in the Mass order. In both cases, Luther's suggestions build upon existing practice. Although the sermon was not considered a regular part of the order of Mass in the late Middle Ages, preaching in the vernacular did take place on occasion in connection to the celebration of Mass. The medieval prone, a vernacular preaching service, developed to accommodate such preaching at the time of the Mass and in other circumstances. Luther's concern that people hear "the living voice of the Gospel" (*viva vox evangelii*) gave impetus to regular preaching at Mass and a place for it within the order of the Mass. Luther was not concerned to determine every matter of liturgical practice "as long as the Word of God is diligently and faithfully preached in the church."[33]

German hymns were also occasionally sung at Mass. Luther wanted to further the practice as a way to move toward a fully vernacular, sung liturgy:

> I also wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass, immediately after the gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. For who doubts that originally all the people sang these which now only the choir sings or responds to while the bishop is consecrating? The bishops may have these [congregational]

[33] LW 53: 37.

> hymns sung either after the Latin chants, or use the Latin on one [Sun]day and the vernacular on the next, until the time comes that the whole mass is sung in the vernacular.[34]

The expansion of congregational song at Mass contributed to the communal character of eucharistic celebration. Such singing was, for Luther, a congregational act of proclamation, another means by which the Gospel had a living voice.

In its most radical changes to the inherited Mass order, Luther's *An Order of Mass* removed the elements he regarded as sacrificial and gave prominence to Christ's words of institution. Having described the celebration of the Mass through the sermon, Luther writes:

> From here on almost everything smacks and savors of sacrifice. And the word of life and salvation [the Words of Institution] are imbedded in the midst of it all . . . Let us, therefore, repudiate everything that smacks of sacrifice, together with the entire canon and retain only that which is pure and holy, and so order our mass.[35]

Luther proposed a simple preparation of bread and wine in place of the Roman offertory rite with its antiphons, prayers, and priestly devotions, which contained language Luther associated with the sacrifice of the Mass. With regard to the prayers of the Canon (the post-Sanctus portion of the Roman eucharistic prayer), Luther followed the advice he had previously given: to omit these words altogether. He retained only the *Qui pridie* paragraph containing the words of institution, the command and promise of Christ. In the Roman Mass, the words of institution were surrounded by the prayers of the Canon that Luther found so problematic. Moreover, because the prayers of the Canon were spoken silently by the priest, the words of institution were not regularly heard. Luther revised the traditional liturgical version of the words of institution to follow more closely the language of the biblical accounts and attached them to the opening words of the preface (in place of a proper preface), which was always sung aloud (Appendix 2). Luther suggested that they be sung to the same tone as the Lord's Prayer, thus making a musical connection between the words of Christ and the prayer of Christ at the heart of the eucharistic action.

Because of the way the Canon unfolded at a sung Mass, Luther was able to accomplish this significant excision and reworking of material with little visible or audible change from the perspective of a participant, especially

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[34] LW 53: 36. "Bishop" here refers to the local parish priest or pastor.
[35] LW 53: 26.

one who could not follow the Latin.[36] The words of institution, previously unheard, were now heard as part of the sung preface. The choir sang the Sanctus/Benedictus following the preface as usual. The silent recitation of the prayers of the Canon under the singing was simply omitted. Luther even suggested that the elevation of the bread and cup be retained "for the benefit of the weak in faith who might be offended if such an obvious change in this rite of the Mass were suddenly made."[37] The elevation occurred during the singing of the Sanctus/Benedictus just as would have been the case previously, when the priest elevated bread and cup at the words of institution in the midst of the prayers of the silent Canon.

At the communion rite, Luther eliminated the manual actions of the priest, including the fraction, and established the communion of the people as essential to the understanding and practice of the Mass as Supper. He writes:

> For just as it is absurd for a minister to make a fool of himself and publicly preach the Word where no one hears . . . so it is equally nonsensical if the ministers prepare and embellish the Lord's Supper, which belongs to all, without having guests to eat and drink it.[38]

The people were to receive both bread and cup. With the abundance of preaching and teaching that had taken place in Wittenberg about Christ's institution of the Supper, the time for accommodating those who took offense had now passed.[39] Luther did not envision that all present would participate in communion (the medieval standard was an annual communion at Easter), and he instructed that those who desired to receive communion should personally inform the pastor. This provided opportunity for the pastor to examine a communicant about his or her "faith and understanding" as well as "life and conduct," and if necessary to exclude faithless, ignorant, and unrepentant persons from participation. Luther suggested that the communicants gather as a group in the chancel at or

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[36] Frank C. Senn, "Martin Luther's Revision of the Eucharistic Canon in the *Formula Missae* of 1523," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 44 (1973): 101–118, esp. 112–113. Cf. Bryan Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass* (Bramcote, 1982); and Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, 2007), esp. pp. 173–190.

[37] LW 53: 28.

[38] LW 53: 32.

[39] LW 53: 34–36.

near the altar in order to receive communion and also, in this way, to make a visible, public witness to their faith.[40]

In *An Order of Mass*, Luther focused his reforming efforts on what he regarded as the most essential things and left open most ritual and ceremonial matters (lights, incense, vestments, etc.), so as not to establish and enforce a prescribed rite. Luther's deep conviction about the centrality of God's Word and faith, not human works and rites, gave shape to how he approached liturgical practice and the reform of the mass: "All that matters is that the Words of Institution should be kept intact and that everything should be done by faith . . . [T]he kingdom of God is not any rite, but faith within you."[41]

The *German Mass* (1526)

Luther was not the first to produce an order for Mass in German. Karlstadt's aborted attempt in Wittenberg preceded Luther's, as did the work of Kaspar Kantz in Nördlingen and Thomas Müntzer in Allstedt, among others.[42] Luther's *German Mass* reflects the vernacular Mass introduced at Wittenberg in October 1525.[43] As with his Latin Mass order, Luther was concerned not to legislate a rite, but now he was also concerned about the consequences of too much variation in liturgical practice within a given territory:

> As far as possible we should observe the same rites and ceremonies, just as all Christians have the same baptism and the same sacrament [of the altar] and no one has received a special one of his own from God.
>
> . . . [I]t would be well if the service in every principality would be held in the same manner and if the order observed in a given city would also be followed by the surrounding towns and villages.[44]

Furthermore, it was not Luther's intention that the German Mass completely displace the Evangelical Mass in Latin. These two orders could

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[40] LW 53: 32–34.
[41] LW 53: 31.
[42] See Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, esp. pp. 7–24.
[43] Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, p. 27; "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53: 61–90; "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts," WA 19: 72–113; also Herbst, *Evangelischer Gottesdienst*, pp. 69–87; eucharistic portion only in Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, pp. 36–39.
[44] LW 53: 61–62.

both find use in the churches, the Latin Mass for those familiar with Latin and the young being trained in it, the German Mass for those without such learning.[45]

As the title implies, the vernacular order Luther provided was an order for an Evangelical Mass (*Messe*; Appendix 3). Its elements followed the traditional order of the Roman Mass and thus also Luther's own *An Order of Mass*. Like his Latin Mass order, Luther's *German Mass* was not a liturgical book, but an outline and commentary describing, in this case, how to conduct an Evangelical Mass in German. Luther was convinced that a vernacular Mass was not simply a translation project, but one that involved the elements of the Mass taking vernacular form. Consequently, although the structure of the Mass is recognizable, Luther's *German Mass* represents a significant departure from the text and music of the Western Mass tradition.

Like his first Mass order, the *German Mass* evidences Luther's principle concern to establish a practice of Mass focused on the congregational reception of the word and the sacrament in faith. Thus, it too provided for the preaching of God's Word, the hearing of the words of institution, and the communion of the people. In addition to its move fully into the vernacular (except for the Kyrie), the most notable features of the *German Mass* are its thoroughly musical form, including the use of German hymns in place of the Mass ordinary and propers, and the shape of the eucharistic action, which took further steps away from Roman practice.

The many pages of musical notation in the *German Mass* are visible evidence of Luther's interest in a sung liturgy. Luther was concerned to set the words of the liturgy in a way that respected the flow of the German text. He shows how to sing a psalm, the Scripture lessons, and the words of institution to tones appropriate to the German text. Luther also wanted German songs in place of the traditional liturgical chants. The *German Mass* makes the following suggestions for the use of vernacular song:

A hymn or psalm at the introit
"Now to the Holy Spirit let us pray" (*Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*) or any other hymn between epistle and gospel in place of gradual/alleluia/sequence
"We all believe in one true God" (*Wir glauben all in einen Gott*), a hymn form of the Nicene Creed

[45] LW 53: 62–64. Luther also expressed the need for a third type of service—"a truly evangelical order" for serious Christians—for which he did not yet see much need, p. 63.

German Sanctus "Isaiah in a vision did of old" (*Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah*) or "O Lord, we praise you" (*Gott sei gelobet*) or "Jesus Christ, our blessed Savior" (*Jesus Christus unser Heiland*) at the distribution of bread

German Agnus Dei "O Christ, Lamb of God" (*Christe du Lamm Gottes*) or the two hymns above at the distribution of cup[46]

The German hymns that Luther commends for use at Mass were texts and tunes that Luther had worked on himself and in collaboration with others, and most were based upon pre-Reformation sources. Luther's *German Mass* set the precedent for the Lutheran use of vernacular hymn forms in place of the ordinary of the Latin Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei). It also fostered in Lutheran practice the use of hymns at the opening of worship, in relation to the Scripture readings (*Graduallieder*), and at communion, in place of the proper chants of the Mass (introit, gradual, and communion).[47] The *German Mass* aimed to engage choir and congregation in song.[48]

The eucharistic action of the *German Mass* furthered Luther's aim to make the words of institution liturgically prominent. An exhortation addressed to the congregation preceded these words, and the communion in bread and cup followed immediately upon their recitation. Except for the biblical words of promise, nothing of the Roman eucharistic prayer remained, not even the thanksgiving of the Roman preface, which Luther had retained in his Latin *An Order of Mass*. In place of a prayer addressed to God, Luther provided an exhortation to prayer addressed to the congregation. The first part of the exhortation consisted of a lengthy paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer recast in a set of seven biddings for the congregation's prayer, reflecting the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer. The invitation into this praying echoes the Sursum corda of the Roman preface dialogue: "I admonish you first of all to lift up your hearts to God to pray with me

[46] These hymns, both texts (in English) and tunes, can be found in Lutheran worship books currently in use, e.g., *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (Minneapolis, 2006) and *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis, 2006); for the German texts with tunes, see *Evangelisches Gesangbuch* (1994; published in various regional editions). For background and commentary, see Paul Westermeyer, *Hymnal Companion to Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis, 2010); Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*; and LW 53.

[47] The absence of any hymn in place of the offertory antiphon reflects Luther's elimination of the offertory rite. On the hymns and music of the *Deutsche Messe* and the impact on Lutheran practice, see Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, pp. 292–304.

[48] On the relation of congregational song and choral singing in Lutheran worship, see Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranisim: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford, 2004).

the Lord's Prayer, as Christ our Lord has taught us and graciously promised to hear us."[49] The second part of the exhortation urges the congregation to "discern the Testament of Christ in true faith," especially the words concerning the gift of his body and blood for the forgiveness of sins, to "remember and give thanks for [Christ's] boundless love" shown in his redeeming death, and to "receive the bread and wine, i.e., his body and his blood, as the pledge and guarantee of this."[50] In a few words, Luther directed the congregation to the divine gift of the Supper and also to the congregation's act of prayer at the Supper. He bids the congregation to receive in faith the words of Christ and the elements of bread and wine, the promise of forgiveness together with his body and blood. And further, he bids the congregation to prayer in remembrance and thanksgiving for God's redeeming love in the cross of Christ. Following the exhortation to prayer and to faithful participation in the sacrament, the pastor sings the words of institution to the same musical tone as the gospel reading, and so, Luther linked these words to the proclamation of the Gospel.

For the communion, Luther suggested that the distribution of the bread take place immediately upon hearing the bread-word and the cup upon the cup-word. In this way, Luther attached the reception of the bread and the wine in faith directly to the gift and promise of Christ's words. Word and faith stood together at the center of the sacramental meal. Luther's German Sanctus accompanied the reception of the bread; the German Agnus Dei accompanied the reception of the cup; other communion hymns could substitute for these or extend the singing. The practice of the Supper at Wittenberg retained the elevation,[51] and in the *German Mass*, Luther offers an Evangelical explanation to counter any mistaken notions of what it meant for people to see the consecrated host or for the priest to offer it:

> [The elevation] signifies that Christ has commanded us to remember him. For just as the sacrament is bodily elevated, and yet Christ's body and blood are not seen in it, so he is also remembered and elevated by the word of the sermon and is confessed and adored in the reception of the sacrament. In each case he is apprehended only by faith; for we cannot see how Christ gives his body and blood for us and even now daily shows and offers it before God to obtain grace for us.[52]

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[49] LW 53: 78–79.
[50] LW 53: 79–80.
[51] Until it was abolished in 1542, LW 53: 82, n. 27.
[52] LW 53: 82.

Finally, the *German Mass* contains a post-communion prayer from Luther's own hand. It is the only prayer from Luther in either of his Mass liturgies, and it has persisted in Lutheran eucharistic practice:

> We give you thanks, almighty God, that you have refreshed us through the healing power of this gift of life; and we pray that in your mercy you would strengthen us, through this gift, in faith toward you and in fervent love toward one another; for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[53]

The prayer summarizes well the basic tenets of Luther's theology of eucharistic practice. The sacrament is a saving gift (*heilsame Gabe*). Its only use is to create and nourish faith in God. And its fruit is the love of neighbor.

The Eucharist in the Lutheran Church Orders

Lutheran eucharistic practice unfolds from these foundational orders from Luther, *An Order of Mass* and the *German Mass*. As the Reformation took hold in various German territories, church orders provided official direction for the reform of eucharistic practice.[54] At least 135 such orders appeared in the period before the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which gave legal recognition to Lutheran territories, and more appeared in subsequent decades. Some of Luther's coworkers at Wittenberg played important roles in developing a number of church orders, foremost Johannes Bugenhagen, Justas Jonas, and Philipp Melanchthon. Another important figure is the Nürnberg reformer Andreas Osiander.[55]

One schema for classifying the church orders divides them into three groups. The largest group from central and northern German territories—many produced by the figures named above—follows Luther's orders most closely. A few individual church orders preserve more pre-Reformation practices. Several church orders from southern and western German

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[53] *Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis and Philadelphia, 1978), p. 74; Herbst, *Evangelischer Gottesdienst*, p. 86.

[54] Emil Sehling, ed. *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1902–1913; repr. Aalen, 1970); further volumes from Institut für evangelisches Kirchenrecht der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland zu Göttingen (Tübingen, 1955–).

[55] Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis, 1997), pp. 323–338.

territories show the influence of Reformed eucharistic practice, notably those produced by Martin Bucer and Johannes Brenz.[56]

The influence of Luther's orders upon the regulation of eucharistic practice in the Lutheran church orders was extensive. The order, elements, and fundamental intention of both *An Order of Mass* and the *German Mass* gave a certain unity and coherence to the tremendous local variety in the details of eucharistic practice. Following Luther, the Lutheran church orders provided eucharistic orders based upon the Mass (i.e., integrated orders of word and sacrament), in contrast to the tendency among orders under Reformed influence to provide for a regular preaching service and a separate order for the occasional celebration of the Supper. All of the Lutheran orders present a eucharistic celebration focused on the words of institution, sung or spoken aloud, and the reception of communion by those prepared to participate. They evidence the persistence of Latin in Evangelical Mass liturgies as well as the general movement toward the vernacular. The Lutheran church orders also furthered Luther's lead in shaping a sung liturgy.

One of the important differences between Luther's two Mass orders is the placement of the words of institution in relation to the reception of communion. In the Latin Mass order from Luther, several elements (Sanctus/Benedictus with elevation, Lord's Prayer, and greeting of peace) follow the words of institution (included in the preface) and separate those words from the reception of bread and cup. In the *German Mass*, the reception of bread and cup follows immediately upon the words of institution; an exhortation, including Luther's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, precede the words of institution. This difference in practice contributed to the development of two liturgical families among Lutheran churches, roughly north and south German. For example, the Braunschweig Church Order (1528), from the hand of Bugenhagen and the first order to appear after Luther's own Mass orders, followed the pattern of the *German Mass.* The Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order (1533), from the hands of Osiander and Brenz, followed the pattern of the Latin Mass order.[57] Even though

[56] This schema is presented in Luther D. Reed, *Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 89–92, and summarized in Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, pp. 330–331.

[57] "Ordunug der Messe aus der Braunschweiger Kirchenordnung 1528," and "Ordnung der Messe aus der Brandenburg-Nürnberger Kirchenordnung 1533," Herbst, *Evangelisher Gottesdienst*, pp. 88–93, 96–102; see also Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, 6/1: (405–40), 440–45 and 11: (181–88), 188–99, (199–200), and Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, pp. 53–56, 76–80. Schmidt-Lauber

both patterns come from Luther, the question remains whether these patterns suggest different understandings of the function of the words of institution as well as different relationships to the tradition of eucharistic praying.

In addition to carrying forward Luther's efforts to shape a practice of the Supper in contrast to the sacrifice of the Mass, the Lutheran church orders also reflect Luther's understanding of the real presence of Christ at the Supper, which he formulated most clearly in opposition to Zwinglian ideas about the sacrament.[58] Luther's own Mass orders dealt primarily with what he called the proper use of the sacrament: the faithful reception of its gift and promise together with the sacramental feeding upon Christ present in the elements of bread and wine. Luther's debate with Zwingli and other reformers had to do with the nature of the sacrament itself. Their differences were based upon divergent interpretations of Christ's words at the Supper: "This is my body . . . This is my blood."[59] While Zwingli argued that "is" means "signifies," Luther insisted on a literal reading of the verb "is" and asserted the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacramental elements of bread and wine for eating and drinking: there Christ is truly and bodily present.[60] Lutheran teaching about Christ's presence at the Supper came to mark the limits of eucharistic fellowship. The disagreement about the nature of the sacrament separated Lutherans from other Evangelicals at the Lord's table.[61]

The distinctive Lutheran teaching about the real presence is evident in the liturgical provisions of the church orders. It shows itself, for example, in the way exhortations describe the gift of the sacrament as Christ's "body" (or "flesh") and "blood" for eating and drinking.[62] The 1528 Braunschweig Church Order exhorts the communicants to "believe what Christ says and do what he commands":

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develops this thesis in *Die Eucharistie als Entfaltung der Verba Testamenti*, pp. 80–121. See Schmidt-Lauber, "Die Eucharistie," p. 225, and Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, pp. 336–337.

[58] See also Volker Leppin's contribution to this volume.

[59] On Zwingli's understanding of the presence of Christ at the Supper, see Carrie Euler's contribution to this volume.

[60] For other understandings among Evangelicals, see, in addition to Euler, Nicholas Thompson's contribution to this volume.

[61] See also Thompson.

[62] See for example the exhortations in the 1528 Braunschweig Church Order and the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order, Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, pp. 53–54, 76–77; Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, 6/1: 443–444 and 11: 195–196.

> He says: This is my body given for you. This is my blood shed for you for the forgiveness of sins. Such should you believe. He commands: Take and eat. Drink from it all of you and remember me. Such should you do according to his gracious word and command.[63]

The text exhorts the communicants to right belief and right practice on the basis of the words of Christ, which tell what the sacrament is and show its proper use: Christ's body and blood for eating and drinking. Similarly, the formulas for the words of distribution at the reception of the sacrament display a Lutheran understanding of the real presence. In the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order, the words of distribution make an explicit connection between the bread and the wine received and Christ's body and blood:

> Take and eat! This is the body of Christ, given for you.
> Take and drink! This is the blood of the New Testament, shed for your sin.[64]

In a revision of the formula, the 1591 edition of the Church Order went a step further and identified the sacramental elements as the "true body" and "the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."[65] The addition of the adjective "true" (*wahre*) to "body" and "blood" underscored the corporeal reality of Christ's presence and firmly linked eucharistic practice to the Lutheran position in the doctrinal debates.

Despite the high regard for the Supper among Lutherans, the commitment to a communal Mass involving the participation of at least a portion of the congregation in the reception of communion created a practical problem when there were in fact no communicants. Without communicants, the Lord's Supper could not be celebrated. Consequently the church orders had to make provision for those Sundays and feast days when there were no communicants. In the 1528 Braunschweig Church Order, for example, the Sunday service without communicants concludes with a number of eucharistic elements—preface, Sanctus, Lord's Prayer, German Agnus dei—followed by a Sunday collect (in place of the post-communion prayer) and the final blessing. The service omits the words of institution and the distribution of communion but retains the order of

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[63] Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, p. 54; Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, 6/1: 444.

[64] Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, p. 79; Herbst, *Evangelischer Gottesdienst*, p. 100; Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, 11: 197.

[65] Pahl, *Coena Domini I*, p. 79; Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, 11: 197.

Mass and even the use of eucharistic vestments.[66] Wherever there was a regular lack of communicants, some pattern of Sundays with and without communion was eventually established. Nevertheless, Lutheran worship on Sundays and festivals tended to hold on to the Mass order even when the sacrament itself could not be celebrated.

Conclusion

From Luther to the Lutheran church orders of the sixteenth century, the celebration of the Eucharist developed a distinctive character. The efforts of Lutheran reformers generated an Evangelical order for Mass, both in continuity with the Latin Mass of the Western medieval church and in contrast to it. The Lutheran Eucharist was not a new rite; it was a reformed practice of the old rite. Evangelical Masses bore the form of the Latin Mass and many of its material elements. Evangelical reforms reset the practice of the Mass and, from the reformers' perspective, freed it from entanglement with human works and ceremonies, private Masses, priesthood, and sacrifice. Luther found the impulse for reform in the words of Christ at the center of the Mass, the scriptural words of institution. He and his followers reoriented the practice of the Mass to a congregation gathered to hear those words, to enact them in the reception of communion, and to sing its praise and prayer, most especially the Lord's Prayer (like the words of institution, words of Christ found in Scripture).

Through the scriptural and Christological hermeneutic of such a reform, the Evangelical Mass resonated with the table fellowship of Jesus among his disciples and the practice of the eucharistic meal in the early church. The central panel of Cranach's altarpiece in the city church at Wittenberg testifies to the Eucharist practiced as Supper (Fig. 1). At the Lord's Supper, Jesus Christ himself is present to offer the gifts of "forgiveness of sin, life, and salvation" together with his very body and blood in the elements of bread and wine to a singing and praying congregation gathered to receive these gifts in faith.

Nearly 500 years have passed since the emergence of a distinctive Lutheran eucharistic tradition out of the ferment of the Reformation. Fifty years ago *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (the constitution on the sacred liturgy),

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[66] Herbst, *Evangelischer Gottesdienst*, p. 92; Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, 6/1: 442; Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, p. 333.

the first decree of the Second Vatican Council, furthered a comprehensive reform of liturgical rites within the Roman Catholic Church, including the Mass.[67] In contrast to the reformations of the sixteenth century, which set Lutheran and Catholic eucharistic traditions on different paths, the liturgical reforms of Vatican II together with the ecumenical impact of the twentieth-century liturgical movement have brought the traditions closer together. The new Mass for Roman Catholics (1969) provided much that Luther had sought: a vernacular, participatory, and communally celebrated Mass with regular preaching, and encouragement to congregational song. The meal character of the Mass was especially highlighted, including the communion of the people (in both kinds). For Lutheran churches, the renewal of the Mass liturgy among Roman Catholics in conjunction with the ecumenical liturgical movement has stimulated efforts of reform and renewal in their own eucharistic practice, including movement toward a regular celebration of the Eucharist on Sunday and feast days, more frequent participation in communion, and the use of a full eucharistic prayer, encompassing the words of institution. Formerly divisive issues such as transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the ministry of the priest have become subjects of dialogue and remarkable convergence.

Lutheran eucharistic practice emerged in a conflict about the understanding and practice of the Mass between Lutheran reformers and their Roman opponents in the sixteenth century. The historical dialogue between Lutherans and Catholics about the Mass through the centuries remains alive to this day within broadly ecumenical and increasingly global conversations about the Eucharist in Christian faith and practice.

[67] On the liturgical reforms both before and after the Second Vatican Council, see Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy, 1948–1975* (Collegeville, 1990).

Appendix 1
Formula missae et communionis (1523)
Martin Luther

Introit
Kyrie eleison (nine-fold)
Gloria in excelsis Deo
[Salutation]
Collect

Epistle
Gradual and/or
Alleluia
sequence for Christmas/Pentecost and/or *hymn* (vernacular)
Gospel [with acclamations]
Nicene Creed
Sermon (vernacular; here or before Introit)

Preparation of bread/wine (during creed or after sermon)
Blessing (*benedictio*)
  Dialogue
  Preface—
  Words of Institution (*verba benedictionis*)
  Sanctus/Benedictus with Elevation
  Lord's Prayer
Peace
Communion (minister, then people)
  with Agnus dei
  prayer of preparation
  Words of Distribution
  communion antiphon and/or *hymns* (vernacular)
  Post-Communion Collect/s

Benedicamus
Benediction (traditional or Aaronic from Numbers 6:24–26)

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bold indicates regular elements in the order
bold italics indicate regular element that may be omitted
lower-case italics indicate elements that may or may not be used
[ ] indicates elements not mentioned in text, but use presumed

Appendix 2
Luther's Revision of the Roman Canon in Formula missae

Canon of the Roman Mass	*Luther's Revision*
Preface to the Canon	**Blessing**
Dialogue	Dialogue
Preface—	Preface—
Proper Preface	Words of Institution
Sanctus/Benedictus	Sanctus/Benedictus with Elevation
Canon *silently during Sanctus/Benedictus*	
Four Petitions	
Consecration Petition	
Words of Institution with Elevation	
Anamnesis/Oblation	
Four Petitions	
Doxology	
Lord's Prayer	**Lord's Prayer**

Appendix 3
Deutsche Messe (1526)
Martin Luther

Hymn or Psalm (ex. Ps. 34)
Kyrie (three-fold)
Collect

Epistle
Hymn
Gospel
Creed (German hymn-form)
Sermon

Exhortation (*Vermahnung*; from pulpit or at altar)
  Lord's Prayer (paraphrase)
  Exhortation to the Supper
Office and Consecration (*Amt und Dermunge*)
  Words of Institution—bread-word (*Consecration*; sung to Gospel tone)
  Communion—bread
    with German Sanctus or Hymn with Elevation
  Words of Institution—cup-word (*segnen*; sung to Gospel tone)
  Communion—cup
    with German Agnus Dei or Hymns
Post-Communion Collect

Benediction (Aaronic from Numbers 6:24–26)

REFORMED LITURGICAL PRACTICES

Raymond A. Mentzer

The sweeping theological reconsideration of the Eucharist offered by John Calvin and others in the Reformed tradition led to a profound, highly visible transformation of liturgical practices. The changes in the celebration of what Calvin and the Reformed tradition called the Lord's Supper, or simply the Supper, flowed from new doctrinal positions and were readily apparent to all believers from the most intellectually sophisticated to the largely unlettered and uneducated worshipers who formed the vast majority of the faithful. Reformed theologians and ecclesiastical authorities regarded the revised ritual as a return to the pure practices of the primitive church. They simultaneously rooted out what they took to be erroneous forms, notably the Mass, that had evolved over the course of the Middle Ages. Calvin dubbed the Mass an "unbearable blasphemy"[1] and further characterized the priest's words of consecration as "magical mumblings."[2] Thus, the new Reformed rite aimed to distinguish unambiguously true worship from what Calvin and his followers regarded as deeply flawed medieval and Catholic customs. The modifications also set the Reformed liturgy apart from other Evangelical, notably Lutheran, ceremonies. Martin Luther held to Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, whereas Calvin claimed that it was a spiritual presence.[3] Liturgical systems highlighted these theological distinctions. Finally, the Reformed Supper and the panoply of gestures associated with its corporate celebration lent unity and purpose to the body of believers. The communal meal advanced moral and spiritual solidarity in defining who the faithful were and, by extension, who they were not. And while these revisions in the eucharistic liturgy occurred throughout the Reformed world, from Hungary to Geneva and France, the Netherlands, portions of Germany, Scotland and eventually across the Atlantic to New England, the essay at hand

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[1] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960), 4.18.2, p. 1430. Calvin devoted book 4, chapters 17 and 18 of the *Institutes* to his critique of the medieval Mass and an explanation of what he viewed as the theologically correct understanding of the Eucharist.

[2] Quoted in Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (New York, 1961), p. 185.

[3] See Nicholas Wolterstorff, "John Calvin," in this volume.

concentrates on practice within the French orbit with fewer references to developments at Geneva and elsewhere.[4]

John Calvin, already in the initial 1536 edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, whose publication preceded his arrival at Geneva, made clear his preference for the celebration of the Supper:

> It should begin with public prayers. After this a sermon should be given. Then, when the bread and wine have been placed on the Table, the minister should repeat the words of the institution of the Supper. Next, he should recite the promises which were left to us in it; at the same time, he should excommunicate all who are debarred from it by the Lord's prohibition. Afterward, he should pray that the Lord, with the kindness wherewith he has bestowed this sacred food upon us also teach and form us to receive it with faith and thankfulness of heart, and, inasmuch as we are not so of ourselves, by his mercy make us worthy of such a feast. But here either psalms should be sung, or something be read, and in becoming order the believers should partake of the most holy banquet, the minister breaking the bread and giving the cup. When the Supper is finished, there should be an exhortation to sincere faith and confession of faith, to love and behavior worthy of Christians. At the last, thanks should be given, and praise sung to God. When these things are ended, the church should be dismissed in peace.

Calvin then immediately sought to dispel potential disputes by adding several cautionary notes.

> Whether or not the believers take it [the bread] in their hands, or divide it among themselves, or severally eat what has been given to each; whether they hand the cup back to the deacon or give it to the next person; whether the bread is leavened or unleavened; the wine red or white—it makes no difference. These things are indifferent, and left at the church's discretion.[5]

These latter remarks help to explain the existence of minor differences in the eucharistic liturgy among national churches and even among congregations within a single national church. Still, the shared essentials—communal prayer, psalm-singing, the preaching of the Word, a recitation of the biblical institution of the sacrament as its warrant, the proclamation of the Lord's promises, the excommunication of the unrepentant and defiant, the administration of the bread and the wine, and prayers of thanksgiving—were pervasive and recognizable.

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[4] For Huldrych Zwingli's and Heinrich Bullinger's theologies of the Eucharist, see Carrie Euler's article in this volume.

[5] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536 edition), trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Grand Rapids, MI, 1986), pp. 122–123; *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss, 59 vols. (Brunswick: 1863–1900), 1, col. 139–140.

During the early 1540s, Calvin and his followers at Geneva formalized these liturgical understandings when they published and disseminated a concise manual entitled, *The Form of Church Prayers and Hymns with the Manner of Administering the Sacraments and Consecrating Marriage According to the Custom of the Ancient Church*.[6] The concluding words of the title—*According to the Custom of the Ancient Church*—explicitly attested to Calvin's desire to return to the pure usages of the earliest Christians and his simultaneous campaign to eradicate what he believed to be dangerous medieval distortions. This handbook became, in turn, the basic text utilized for the French liturgy until nearly the end of the seventeenth century; the church in Geneva used it with minimal modification until the 1720s. Although the instructions outlined in *The Form of Church Prayers* were spare, ecclesiastical authorities in Geneva, France, and elsewhere developed over time an elaborate series of procedures and actions. All agreed, only those who were "qualified" and who "greatly desire[d] the body and blood of the Lord" could participate.[7] Accordingly, a complex of screening measures preceded the celebration. Correct belief and proper behavior were absolute prerequisites for participation. In related fashion, this was the occasion to seek the reintegration of those men and women who, for one reason or another, found themselves separated from the church. The actual service was embedded in the Sunday sermon worship, thereby reinforcing the centrality of Holy Writ. Neither of the two sacraments, Baptism or the Supper, could occur outside the presence of the Word. Finally, it bears noting that this was a vernacular liturgy, which in its stress upon the Word, prayer, and the singing of Psalms, was meant to be accessible to the laity. Indeed, lay members of the ministry, serving as elders and deacons, played prominent roles in the elaborate preparations for the Supper and its ensuing celebration.

Recent studies by Thomas Lambert and Christian Grosse for Geneva and Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard and Bernard Roussel for France have analyzed the essential ritual and the anthropological contours of the

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[6] The basic text of *La Forme des Prières et Chants ecclésiastiques, avec la manière d'administrer les Sacrements* can be found in *Calvini opera*, 6, col. 193–202. The modern critical edition is Bruno Bürki, "La Sainte Cène selon l'ordre de Jean Calvin, 1542," in *Coena Domini I. Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen in 16./17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Irmgard Pahl (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1983), pp. 347–367. An English translation is available in Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, pp. 197–210. A recent presentation of liturgical practices can be found in John Calvin, *Writings on Pastoral Piety*, ed. and trans. Elsie McKee (New York, 2001), esp. pp. 98–134.

[7] *Calvini opera*, 6, col. 193, n. 1.

Lord's Supper. Even as Lambert casts a wide net in his examination of Genevan daily religion with particular attention to preaching, he provides a detailed and illuminating portrait of the often difficult transition that many people faced as the Mass, the familiar centerpiece of the medieval liturgy, gave way to the Reformed Supper.[8] Grosse focuses explicitly on the rituals surrounding the Eucharist. He argues that with the advent of the Reformation at Geneva, the new religious leaders did not engage in the simple replacement of a medieval Christianity, founded on the collective religious ritual experience of the Eucharist, with a Christianity centered on an individual and interiorized religious experience of the same rite. Rather, they substituted a consistent and encompassing ritual system at the heart of which was the medieval Mass with another ritual system whose coherence rested on the complementarity of the preaching of the Word and the communion service.[9]

Carbonnier-Burkard highlights theological and devotional elements in her survey of the eucharistic celebration among French Reformed Protestants. In France, the Supper always took place within the context of the sermon service. As previously noted, the sacrament could not exist apart from the Word. The rhythm or frequency of the celebration of the Supper also figures prominently in Carbonnier-Burkard's analysis. She carefully elucidates the tension between Genevan religious and civic authorities over the matter. They eventually settled on four times per year, which in turn became the norm in France. The final element in Carbonnier-Burkard's consideration draws attention to liturgical and devotional dynamics internal to the rite. In short, the Supper was a collective, communal ritual in whose preparation and performance all members of the congregation joined. Indeed, they were obliged to do so; failure to prepare for and share in the sacramental meal was deemed a moral fault.[10] At the same time, the celebration of the Eucharist was the occasion for personal spiritual preparation in which the individual believer sought to strengthen and deepen an interior piety in anticipation of partaking in this central liturgical event.[11]

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[8] Thomas A. Lambert, *Preaching, Praying and Policing the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Geneva* (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1998).

[9] Christian Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène* (Geneva, 2008).

[10] For a similar understanding of failure to communicate in the Scottish church, particularly if it were habitual, as a punishable offense, see Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), p. 116.

[11] Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard, "Le temps de la cène chez les réformés français," in *Edifier ou instruire? Les avatars de la liturgie réformée du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, ed.

Roussel, for his part, examines the ways in which the sacramental ritual took shape during the first several decades of the newly organized Reformed Churches of France. He concentrates on the ritual sequence of words and actions: the fracturing of the bread, the pouring of the wine into the cup, the words of institution, and the administration of both the bread and the wine to the faithful. He also allows that the varying circumstances of the local churches—in particular the attitudes and actions of the pastors and elders who controlled access to the table—meant differing emphasis on the various elements of the common ritual. While the rite possessed a variety of functions, the Reformed Supper seemed above all to possess symbolic value. It offered to each communicant the promise of salvation; it was the union of each with a heavenly Savior, a union which would be fully experienced at the moment of death.[12] With these perspectives in mind, let us begin by turning to a detailed examination of the essential actions in the weeks preceding the Supper as well as the conduct of the service itself.

For early modern Reformed Protestants, Baptism and the Eucharist were the only two sacraments. The Supper—in French the *cène*, a term that derives from the Latin *coena* and evokes the sense of a meal—was an essential, regular element of divine worship. The faithful at Geneva celebrated the Eucharist, the sharing of bread and wine in memory of the last meal taken by Jesus and his disciples, four times a year and always on a Sunday. The occasions were Easter, Pentecost, early September and Christmastide (though not Christmas day, unless it happened to fall on a Sunday). With the exception of the September celebration (chosen because of its position midway between Pentecost and Christmas), they corresponded to the major Christian feasts. Calvin would have preferred a more frequent schedule for the Supper—if not every Sunday, at least once a month. Again, in the 1536 edition of the *Institutes*, he proposed that the Supper be offered "very often, and at least once a week."[13] Calvin was

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Maria-Cristina Pitassi (Paris, 2000), pp. 57–73; and "La Cène dans le 'Prêche' réformé (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)," in *L'Eucharistie: célébrations, rites, piétés*, ed. A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (Rome, 1996), pp. 133–147.

[12] Bernard Roussel, "Comment faire la Cène? Rite et retour aux Ecritures dans les Eglises Réformées du Royaume de France au XVIe siècle," in *Les Retours aux Ecritures: fondamentalismes présents et passés*, ed. Evelyne Patlagean and Alain Le Boulluec (Louvain, 1993), pp. 195–216; and " 'Faire la Cène' dans les églises réformées du royaume de France au seizième siècle (ca. 1555–ca. 1575)," *Archives de science sociales des religions* 85 (1994): 99–119.

[13] Calvin, *Institutes* (1536 edition), p. 122; *Calvini opera*, 1, col. 139–140.

reacting in part to the medieval convention by which people appear to have "received only once a year," usually at Easter.[14] The Genevan municipal authorities, however, following usage at Bern and Zurich, insisted on no more than four times annually.[15]

As the Reform movement spread beyond Geneva, the French church adopted the tradition of four eucharistic celebrations a year. Other national churches embraced a range of customs. The Hungarian Reformed church, for example, held communion services six times a year: at Advent, on Christmas, Ash Wednesday, Easter and Ascension Day, and at Pentecost.[16] The Dutch churches opted to celebrate the Supper between four and six times a year. Provincial Dutch church orders from the sixteenth century routinely enjoined celebration of the Supper "once every two months or at least four times per year."[17] In Scotland, by contrast, communion continued to be celebrated only once a year in most places. Although the Scottish church encouraged more frequent celebration, only a few parishes had more than an annual communion. For those celebrating once a year, the preferred time seems to have been the Easter season, though not necessarily Easter Sunday.[18]

Once local church leaders had decided upon the specific date for the Supper, the pastor announced the service from the pulpit, typically two weeks in advance so as to allow everyone ample time to undertake individual spiritual preparation.[19] These preliminary measures also involved the consistory's careful screening of participants to ensure that they

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[14] Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.17.44, pp. 1422–1423.

[15] Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 286–294.

[16] Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford, 2000), p. 158.

[17] Richard R. De Ridder, *The Church Orders of the Sixteenth-Century Reformed Churches of the Netherlands: Together with Their Social, Political, and Ecclesiastical Context* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1987), pp. 18, 26, 432. More generally, see Willem F. Dankbaar, *Communiegebruiken in de eeuw der Reformatie* (Groningen, 1987), pp. 79–88; and Jan R. Luth, "Communion in the Churches of the Dutch Reformation to the Present Day," in *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion: Essays in the History of Liturgy and Culture*, ed. Charles Caspars, Gerard Lukken, and Gerard Rouwhorst (Kampen, 1995), pp. 99–117.

[18] John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640* (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 81–85; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 86–88.

[19] The two-week timeframe seems to have been well-suited to churches in urban areas. In the rural parts of Scotland, however, given the general isolation of some families, announcement of the service could be three weeks to three months in advance. See Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, p. 91. On the other hand, the Hungarians may have allowed people as little as a week to prepare spiritually. See Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, p. 158.

were qualified by virtue of correct understanding of the faith and proper Christian behavior. The consistory, perhaps the most recognizable of all Reformed ecclesiastical institutions, conducted the examination of belief and assessment of comportment. Indeed, it organized all details for the Supper to include the times for its celebration. Every local church had a consistory, which was also known as the kirk-session in Scotland and the presbytery in Germany and the Netherlands. It was an administrative and semi-judicial body composed of the ordained pastors of the local church and elected laymen serving as elders and sometimes, outside Geneva, deacons. These ecclesiastical officials assembled on a regular schedule—generally once a week in urban churches, less frequently in the rural world—to confer on matters of church administration, the supervision of social assistance programs and, most famously, the implementation of morals control.

One of the first tasks for French pastors, elders, and deacons following the announcement of the Supper was to conduct a general adult catechism. Catechism was an ongoing experience in French Reformed circles. People learned the essentials—the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Apostles' Creed—in their childhood through rudimentary catechetical instruction. As adults they assisted at a general catechism four times each year during the weeks preceding the Communion service. Attendance was a mandatory precondition for participation in the Supper. Church officials considered absence a serious fault, deserving of punishment. Various, often imaginative excuses for not appearing at catechism generally fell on deaf ears. Larger churches maintained lists of those who had been catechized and were therefore eligible to present themselves at the communion table. Even persons from outlying villages, despite their distance from town, had to join in catechism instruction if they hoped to receive the sacrament. At the urban Protestant stronghold of Nîmes, the deacons composed catechism rosters with annotations regarding people's satisfactory or unsatisfactory comprehension. The custom there as well as in other French Reformed churches was for the faithful to be catechized and afterwards the elders issued each person a special communion token, which was subsequently collected either at the temple door or the table on the day of the service.[20]

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[20] Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Printed Catechism and Religious Instruction in the French Reformed Churches," in *Habent sua fata libelli. Books Have Their Own Destiny. Essays in Honor of Robert V. Schnucker*, ed. Robin B. Barnes, Robert A. Kolb, and Paula L. Presley (Kirksville, MO, 1998), pp. 93–101. A helpful English-language discussion of catechisms is

Children, too, attended catechism to prepare for participation in the Eucharist. For them, however, lessons were more frequent, typically weekly, and occurred over several years. According to the *Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France*, "children under the age of twelve" were not admitted to the Supper. Those twelve or older could participate if the pastor deemed them "well instructed" in catechism and able to recite their prayers. If late seventeenth-century customs at Metz and the small church of Noyers-sur-Serein in Burgundy are typical, while twelve-year olds were theoretically admissible, in practice the children were frequently fourteen or fifteen, occasionally a year or two older. Age of first communion in Scotland appears to have been similarly around fifteen or sixteen.[21]

Compliance with approved standards of Christian behavior was another critical aspect of church control over access to the Supper. French consistories maintained lists of worthy communicants. A worthy communicant was a member of the congregation who, in addition to a satisfactory understanding of the faith, demonstrated good character and correct behavior. Accordingly, the worthy were entitled to share in the Lord's Supper. Most churches also kept a record of the unworthy, those whom the pastors and elders had "suspended from the Holy Sacrament" or in far more serious cases excommunicated. While both suspension and excommunication barred a person from participation in the Supper, the former was typically temporary and applied to a specific celebration. The latter included full social exclusion and was generally indefinite. Either possibility, indeed even the mere threat of exclusion, bore directly on the shared understanding of the sacramental meal as an occasion for settling unresolved conflict and reconciling wrongdoers whose failure to repent had separated them from the community of the faithful. Churches pointedly invited the recalcitrant to appear before the local consistory in order to put an end their tiresome quarrelling, push them to resolve myriad difficulties surrounding their marriages, and accept censure for misdeeds such as fornication, blasphemy, dancing, and gambling. The clear incentive to comply and demonstrate contrition was the promise of admission to the upcoming Lord's Supper. This was the preferred moment for repentance

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Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechism and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996).

[21] Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Ms 436, liasse 9, fol 27–29v; Ms 765², pièce 100. Isaac D'Huisseau, *La Discipline des Eglises Prétendues Réformées de France* (Paris, 1663), p. 298; François Méjan, *Discipline de l'Eglise Réformée de France annotée et précédée d'une introduction historique* (Paris, 1947), p. 275; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, p. 90.

and the restoration of communal harmony. And some miscreants, whose unacceptable behavior had distanced them from the community of faith, did take advantage of this opportunity for reintegration within the congregation. In this sense, the eucharistic rite was a meal of reconciliation as well as spiritual nourishment for those who ate the bread and drank the wine in faith. Notions of shared fellowship, public harmony, and corporate solidarity permeated the ceremony.[22]

Similar practices for reconciling sinners, especially quarreling parties, and for examining everyone for sound doctrine and upright behavior existed in Reformed churches most everywhere. The elimination of dissention and discord within the community was always crucial to the harmony and concord that the eucharistic meal embodied. Those engaged in disputes needed to reconcile their differences and join together in Christian love. At the same time, the church required assurance that prospective communicants had a proper knowledge of the faith. Elders in Scotland sometimes undertook private visits to individual families; in other instances, they and the ministers conducted public meetings of the entire parish. In the latter case, the faithful gathered for hours to pray and listen to sermons. In all of this, Scottish ecclesiastical officials, like their brethren elsewhere, needed to confirm of people's familiarity with basic beliefs, an understanding of the two sacraments, and the ability to recite the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments. Only then would Scots Reformed receive the token required for admission to the service.[23]

Following catechesis or other examinations of faith as well as the various efforts to reconcile the heretofore unrepentant, elders and deacons distributed entry tokens to those members of the congregation whom they now deemed qualified to receive. The tokens were subsequently collected at the communion service. At Le Mans in France during the early 1560s, for example, "each of the faithful placed his [or her] token on the [communion] table."[24] In other churches, an elder collected the tokens

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[22] Raymond A. Mentzer, "Marking the Taboo: Excommunication in the French Reformed Churches," in *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer (Kirksville, MO, 1994), pp. 97–128; Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 562–565.

[23] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 91–93.

[24] Prosper-Auguste Anjubault and Henri Chardon, eds., *Papier et registre du Consistoire de l'Eglise du Mans, réformée selon l'Evangile, 1560–1561 (1561–1562 nouveau style)* (Le Mans, 1867), pp. 35–36.

at the temple door.[25] No one could participate without one. The idea for using entry counters appears to have originated in Geneva. In January 1560, Calvin urged adoption of a token system to regulate access to the communion service. Although the Genevan ruling council rejected the idea, the Reformed Churches of France as well as other churches throughout Europe embraced the practice.

Early on in the Reformation, some French churches seem to have used simple paper chits for admission to the Supper. Eventually, many congregations, especially those in larger towns, tended to design their own tokens, which were typically cast in lead and were often elaborately decorated.[26] Marked with various figural and non-figural devices, they offered powerful religious and sacramental images. Perhaps the most stunning were depictions of Christ as the shepherd with his flock, such as the sixteenth-century token from the Agenais (Fig. 1).

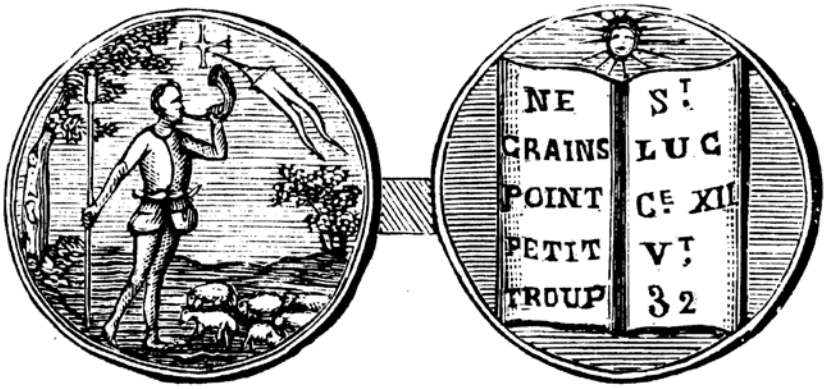

Figure 1. Communion token from the Agenais (Courtesy of the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français).

[25] French Reformed Protestants called the building in which they worshiped "the temple." "The church" was the body of believers. See Willy Richard, *Untersuchungen zur Genesis der reformierten Kirchenterminologie der Westschweiz und Frankreichs* (Bern, 1959), pp. 77–85.

[26] A similar evolution in tokens from paper to metal, from the insubstantial to the permanent took place in the Scottish churches. Todd suggests that the change reveals the need for icons and material objects to signify membership in the body of believers. See Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 97–98.

The motif typically showed a shepherd, a time-honored biblical symbol of Christ, as pastor and protector. He holds a staff in one hand, a horn in the other. He sounds the horn to call his flock of grazing sheep. The reverse side of the token sometimes had a biblical inscription, in this case "Ne crains point petit troup[eau]" on the left page and on the right the locus: "St. Luc, C[hapitr]e XII, V[erse]t 32."[27] Indeed, scriptural verses were a familiar feature of these communion tokens.

Another, equally common French device, one which evokes a highly sacramental version of Calvinism, was a graceful communion cup flanked by rectangular morsels of communion bread. It was often accompanied by an abbreviated version of the name of the local church.[28] This system of admission devices took root in other parts of the Reformed world. Scottish churches, for example, adopted it as well. As with the French tokens, they were fashioned from lead and came in a variety of shapes: round, oval, square, or oblong. Some early Scottish tokens had the ministers' initials on them, and many had the name of the church and the date.[29] Altogether, the custom reinforced the notion of the Lord's Supper as the centerpiece of a corporate religious experience to which the token bearer was now granted admittance.

Even as members of the consistory, particularly the elders, carefully screened participants for the Eucharist, they also assumed considerable responsibility for the conduct of the service. Planning the Lord's Supper was among their major duties in France and elsewhere. The lay elders, acting on behalf of the community, assigned themselves specific vital tasks in the service. One elder provided the bread, another secured the wine. Many churches kept close track of those who "furnished the bread and the wine" and how many times each had done so. This was a great privilege, at once esteemed and humbling. The Protestant city of Montauban in southern France heightened this communal impulse when, in a demonstration of profound solidarity, the municipality furnished the wine for

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[27] "Fear not, little flock," Luke 12:32.

[28] Charles Delormeau, *Les méreaux de communion des Églises protestantes de France et du Refuge* (Le Mas Soubeyran, 1983), pp. 5–10; Henri Gelin, *Le méreau dans les Eglises Réformées de France et plus particulièrement dans celles du Poitou* (Saint-Maixent, 1891); Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Reformed Churches of France and the Visual Arts," in *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), pp. 199–230.

[29] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, p. 97; Alexander J.S. Brook, *Communion Tokens of the Established Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 3–30.

celebration of the Supper.[30] In addition, the elders customarily supplied the table cloths and napkins necessary for the service. In some Scottish churches, even the cups appear to have to have been lent or donated by (presumably prominent) families in the congregation.[31] And, as previously noted, the elders had charge over the token system that granted access to the service. They distributed them to the worthy and then collected them at the celebration, either at the temple entrance or as people approached the table. The elders were also directly involved in the distribution of the wine. In France, an elder typically poured the wine from the large storage pitcher into the cup. Occasionally he or another elder handed the cup to the pastor who in turn presented it to the individual communicants. One or more elders supervised the faithful as they moved toward the table. One read during the service or led psalm-singing, while several others, positioned at the table and the door, collected alms for the poor.[32] Altogether, it was a highly coordinated and elaborate ceremony with broad involvement of the lay members of the ministry.

If, as scholars such as Carbonnier-Burkard and Roussel have suggested, the Genevan liturgical manual adopted by the French churches offered basic yet spare guidance for the conduct of the service, then close examination of the ecclesiastical records, above all the minutes of consistory deliberations, can provide important additional clues and, in the process, help to resolve a number of other, more focused queries.[33] The rite in France began much as the usual Sunday morning worship: with prayers, the singing of a psalm, reading from Scripture, and a sermon.[34] A special

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[30] Gaston Serr, *Une église protestante au XVIe siècle, Montauban* (Aix-en-Provence, 1958), p. 101, n. 20.

[31] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, p. 101.

[32] Janine Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi, 1559–1598* (Toulouse, 1980), pp. 241–246; Raymond A. Mentzer, "Communities of Worship and the Reformed Churches of France," in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael J. Halverson and Karen E. Spierling (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 25–42. Alms for the poor were also collected at the communion service at Geneva and in Scotland. See Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 237–239; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 110–111.

[33] The author is currently preparing an inventory of the extant manuscripts of French consistory deliberations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[34] This discussion draws on Raymond A. Mentzer, "Laity and Liturgy in the French Reformed Tradition," in *History Has Many Voices*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Kirksville, MO, 2003), pp. 71–92. See also Paul de Félice, *Les protestants d'autrefois. Les temples, les services religieux, les actes pastoraux* (Paris, 1897), pp. 150–151; D'Huisseau, *La Discipline,* pp. 298–309; Méjan, *Discipline de l'Eglise Réformée de France*, pp. 274–278; Gordon Donaldson offers a succinct description of "Holy Communion" in Scotland, "Reformation to Covenant," in *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, ed. Duncas Forrester and Douglas Murry, 2nd

prayer introduced the sacrament. The pastor offered a lengthy exhortation, which instructed the faithful and enumerated those who were specifically excluded. This was the final act in a long series of measures that prepared the faithful. The minister then descended from the pulpit, stationed himself behind the table facing the congregation,[35] and readied the bread and wine, the signs of the Lord's body and blood. He broke the bread[36] and an elder typically poured the wine from a large storage pitcher into the cup. The congregants, all of whom received both elements, then processed two by two toward the simple wooden communion table; they were segregated according to gender, the men followed by the women. Men received first, according to the prominent seventeenth-century theologian Moïse Amyraut, given the "prerogative of their sex."[37] While they would have worn hats for the regular sermon service, the male communicants bared their heads. Even the pastor removed the hat that he habitually wore, signaling the solemnity of the occasion.[38] The women, however, modestly covered their heads with veils.

It was within the pastor's prerogative to offer a devout phrase, such as "This bread is the body of Christ; this wine is the blood of Christ," in his distribution of the bread and the wine.[39] The Frenchman and erstwhile Franciscan monk Antoine Cathelan, who visited Geneva in the mid-1550s, suggests that ministers there used the phrase: "Remember that Jesus Christ died for you."[40] The pastor gave each communicant a piece of ordinary table bread. The recipient remained standing and held the bread, placed it in the mouth and chewed it prior to swallowing. The array of gestures reinforced Reformed theological notions regarding the Eucharist in several important ways. The posture sharply and recognizably differed

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ed. (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 42–43. See also *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. James K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 90–93.

[35] See Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 202–203 for a similar sequence of gestures at Geneva.

[36] The theological significance of the fracturing as well as other aspects of the Eucharist are explored by Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolism of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999).

[37] Moïse Amyraut, *Apologie pour ceux de la religion* (Saumur, 1648), p. 300.

[38] The pastor normally kept his hat on for the sermon service. He bared his head only for the most solemn occasions such as the celebration of the Supper or the imposition of hands for the ordination of a new pastor.

[39] Félice, *Les protestants d'autrefois. Le temple*, pp. 151–152; Méjan, *Discipline de l'Eglise Réformée de France*, pp. 276–277.

[40] In general, Cathelan provides a basic yet informative description of the Reformed Supper. See Antoine Cathelan, *Passevent parisien respondant à Pasquin Romain* (Paris, 1875, reprint of Paris 1556 edition), pp. 74–75.

from the medieval and Catholic tradition of kneeling. As for the faithful taking the bread in their hands, Calvin himself noted that this was the "practice of the ancient church."[41] In addition, common bread (rather than the host made of unleavened bread that continued to be used in the Catholic Mass) appeared in Reformed understanding to accord better with the biblical account of the Last Supper. Finally, its deliberate mastication underscored the Calvinist rejection of the medieval doctrine of real presence. The bread, which the communicant took in her or his hands, had not been miraculously transubstantiated into the body of Christ. It could be touched and chewed; it did not have to be swallowed whole to avoid profanation.

The French churches conducted an ambulatory service, as did the Genevan Church.[42] Florimond de Raemond, a critical yet dependable Catholic observer, characterized it as a "peripatetic" communion and was scandalized that the faithful stood instead of kneeling to receive.[43] Communicants in France did not sit or gather standing around the table in the explicit image of a common meal. French Reformed Protestants consciously disassociated the Eucharist from the Passover meal shared by Jesus and his disciples. It was not an imitation of the Last Supper; rather, it was a Christian rite of communion with the divine.[44] The custom among the Dutch and Scots was to sit, while the Hungarians stood alongside the table.[45]

In Geneva as in France, the pastor alone had charge over the distribution of the bread. While the Genevan elders and deacons administered the cup, practice did vary among the French churches. Indeed, the innovations associated with the wine proved controversial in France. In principle, the pastor distributed the cup. Typically, an elder poured the ordinary table wine from a storage pitcher into the cup. He then handed the cup to the pastor, who presented it to the faithful, each of whom took a sip. Sometimes, and it is unclear how often, an elder administered the cup directly to the people. Calvin had offered no objection to lay members of

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[41] Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.17.43, p. 1420.

[42] Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 216–217.

[43] Florimond de Raemond, *L'Histoire de la Naissance, Progrez et Decadence de l'hérésie de ce siècle* (Rouen, 1623), bk. 8, ch. 12, para. 6, p. 105.

[44] Carbonnier-Burkard, "La Cène dans le 'Prêche' réformé," pp. 133–147; Roussel, "Comment faire la Cène?" pp. 195–216 and "Faire la Cène," pp. 99–119.

[45] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 85 and 102; Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, p. 161.

the consistory presenting the cup and this was the practice at Geneva.[46] Still, the national *Discipline* of the French Reformed Churches insisted that the pastor present the cup and then quickly added "in so far as possible." Thus, the National Synod held at Lyon in 1563 specified that when the minister places "the cup in the hand of an elder," the elder's hand becomes "the very hand of the minister." The practice, according to the synod, followed Jesus' own command at the Last Supper when he said, "Distribute it among yourselves."[47] In the early seventeenth century, leaders of a local church in Gascony asserted that "the minister distributes the bread for the Lord's Supper and the senior elder the cup."[48] The discussion at the local and national levels was ongoing, and eventually the elder's role was subject to greater restriction but not eliminated entirely. In large congregations, elders could distribute the cup, lest the service take too long. They had, however, to do so in silence; only the pastor could voice a pious phrase.[49]

The physical setting for the Supper was spare.[50] Each church possessed a simple communion table. In France during the initial decades, the table was usually portable and set up only on those Sundays when the communion service took place.[51] Larger churches sometimes had more than one table, presumably to accelerate the service. Thus, the *grand temple* at Nîmes had several tables, while the small temple had but one. On a related note, the sheer size of many French congregations meant that the Supper consisted of two services on consecutive Sundays to allow everyone to receive in a timely fashion. Carbonnier-Burkard suggests an additional reason for celebrating the Supper on two consecutive Sundays: disassociating the service in the popular mind from the traditional feast days.[52] Finally, considerations of ritual purity marked the service. Men and women always received separately, much as they sat apart from one another at the service. The church at Castres in southern France carried

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[46] Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 219–223 and 229–232.

[47] Jean Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des Eglises réformées de France*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1710), 1: 57; Méjan, *Discipline de l'Eglise Réformée de France*, p. 277.

[48] Auch, Archives Départementales, Gers, 23067, 19 juin 1587, 1er avril 1588, 31 août 1591, 11 juin 1593, 25 mars 1594, 24 mars 1606.

[49] Méjan, *Discipline de l'Eglise Réformée de France*, p. 278; Roussel, "Faire la Cène," pp. 109–110.

[50] On the physical settings of the Eucharist, see Andrew Spicer's article in this volume.

[51] Bernard Reymond, *L'architecture religieuse des protestants* (Geneva, 1996), p. 165.

[52] Méjan, *Discipline de l'Eglise Réformée de France*, p. 278; Carbonnier-Burkard, "Le temps de la Cène," p. 62.

this segregation according to sex a step further by having two gender-specific communion tables, one for men and another for women.

Practice in the Dutch, Scottish, and Hungarian churches differed in several important respects from the French. In both the Netherlands and Scotland, the faithful sat around the table.[53] In Scotland, once seated, each person took a piece of bread from the plate; they also passed the cup to one another. People sat as families, which seems to be unusual for the early modern period. The tables and benches were placed in a variety of ways, depending upon the interior physical setting of the church. Altogether, it was a conscious attempt to locate the sacrament in an everyday setting. If the French ambulatory service avoided the image of the apostles sharing the Passover meal, the Scottish custom of sitting at the table explicitly incorporated it.[54] Communicants in Hungary, for their part, appear to have stood around the table to receive the elements.[55]

An early eighteenth-century image (Fig. 2) depicts the Dutch service.[56] Twenty-four men—twelve on each side—are seated at a long table. Plates with uncut bread are placed at each end, while the men pass plates with small morsels of bread to one another. At center table, the pastor distributes two cups. What appear to be a large loaf of bread and a cup sit on a plate, again at center table. The men have removed their hats and placed them on their laps, while the women in the lower right and upper left have their hair neatly tucked under their veils. To the center left, a reserve ewer of wine sits on a small table with an elder settled close by; presumably he sits ready to refill the cups. In the upper right, another elder, holding an open book, stands in the pulpit. Though possibly a Bible, it seems more likely a psalter as men around the pulpit and people elsewhere in the church also have open books. They are probably singing a psalm.

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[53] Standing rather than sitting was discussed by Dutch church authorities at, for example, the national synod of Dordrecht in 1578; kneeling, however, was firmly rejected, De Ridder, *Church Orders*, p. 219.

[54] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 102–103.

[55] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, p. 161.

[56] *Het Rechte gebruyck van des Heeren H. Avontmael des Heeren* (Amsterdam, 1714), frontespiece. For a splendidly bourgeois depiction of the Dutch Reformed Supper from roughly the same period, see Bernard Picart, *Naaukerige beschryving der uitwendige godtsdienstplichten, kerk-zerden en gerwoontens van ale volkeren der waereldt; in een historisch verhaal, met eenige naaukeurige verhandelingen ontvouwen, door verschedien aanmerkingen opgeheldert; en in kumstige tafereelen afgemaalt: / geteekent door Bernard Picard. Uit het Fransch in Nederduitsch overgezet door Abraham Moubach*, 6 vols. (The Hague, 1727–1738), vol. 5, fig. 185, p. 367.

Figure 2. Avontmaal des Heeren. [frontispiece from *Het Rechte gebruyck van des Heeren H. Avontmael des Heeren* (Amsterdam, 1714). Courtesy of the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies.]

Striking is the importance accorded lay elders in the eucharistic rite. The heavy responsibilities borne by Reformed deacons and elders underscore the lay communal culture that the Protestant Reformation fostered. An emerging middle group of lay persons from professional and mercantile backgrounds—men who could read, write, and who owned books—increasingly dominated the Reformed churches, to include prominent roles in the preparatory steps leading up to the Supper as well as the actual conduct of the service. They furnished the bread, wine, and linens, supervised the congregation, and performed ancillary tasks such as collecting entry tokens and alms. Finally, the elders sometimes distributed the cup, which medieval lay communicants usually did not receive. The elder's administration of the wine was an explicit practical reinforcement of the laity's place in the Reformed churches. Not only did ordinary people receive the cup, they might have even distributed it. The Reformed liturgy for the Supper effectively dissolved the traditional barrier between clergy and laity. It witnessed, in the words of Bernard Roussel, the emergence of a "non-clerical" Christianity. The cup or even its administration was no longer the exclusive privilege of the priest or ordained pastor.[57] Still, if the inclusion of lay members of the ministry in critical aspects of the service proved fresh and inviting, others aspects of the communion service were resistant to change.

People frequently sought to retain the honors, distinctions and position they had enjoyed "during the time of the papacy." At Chizé in the region of Poitou, for example, the nobility occupied prominent benches in the temple and insisted upon preceding the elders in the reception of the bread and the wine at communion services.[58] These perceived privileges inevitably led to problems. A shocking brawl erupted during the Christmas 1598 celebration of the Supper at a small mountain community in southern France. As the congregation processed toward the communion table, the town's two most prominent noble women began to push and shove one another ferociously. Each was seeking to move ahead of the other and thereby confirm superiority of social position. Less than a year later, the two men who headed these honorable lineages scuffled at the temple door, vying for entrance to the sermon service. One angrily claimed that for the

[57] Roussel, "Faire la Cène," pp. 108–109; Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 223–225.

[58] Solange Bertheau, "Le consistoire dans les Églises réformées du Moyen-Poitou au XVIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 116 (1970): 547, n. 223.

last three centuries his family had enjoyed the privilege of highest rank.[59] In the minds of these people and others, religious rituals and ceremonies, including the order of reception for the Lord's Supper,[60] announced and sustained an overall social order. They demanded that the Reformed liturgy perpetuate the "honors" and "rights" that the pre-Reformation religious culture had accorded them. For its part, local consistories were unable to resolve these battles over sacramental privilege and social status.[61] Thus, most Reformed churches observed an order of reception for the bread and the wine: pastor, elders, local nobles, municipal consuls, magistrates and, finally, the less distinguished members of the faithful.[62] On one hand, accommodations in the conduct of the communion service to take account of these sorts of social distinctions appear to have been widespread in early modern Europe. On the other hand, Margo Todd suggests in qualified fashion that communicants seated around the common table at the Scottish communion abandoned worldly signs of rank "in favor of the common equality of a common bench and a common table." Social status no longer mattered. And practice at Geneva seems at least initially to have inverted the social and political order. The magistrates received after the general population, although a hierarchal order of most prestigious followed by the humbler eventually asserted itself.[63]

National variations in the Reformed celebration of the Lord's Supper are marked. In this regard, several aspects of the Scottish communion are striking as well as unique. In Scotland, the faithful typically engaged in a collective fast, sometimes lasting weeks, in the lead-up to the eucharistic service. The pastor Robert Blair noted that in the very early seventeenth century, it was "a generally received opinion, that the sacrament behooved

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[59] For an examination of this and similar incidents, see Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Persistence of 'Superstition and Idolatry' among Rural French Calvinists," *Church History* 65 (1996): 220–233.

[60] Churches in other communities experienced analogous fights over precedence within a variety of religious contexts. See Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 74–75; Elisabeth Labrousse, "L'Eglise Réformée du Carla," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 107 (1961): 249.

[61] The quarrel in this small French town eventually spilled over into the sermon service and subsequent communion services, Montpellier, Archives Départementales, Hérault, E Dépôt, Ganges GG 24, fols. 100, 101v, 106v–108v, 116v, 117v.

[62] Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, pp. 241–246.

[63] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 107–108, n. 78; Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène*, pp. 234–235.

to be received fasting."[64] At Edinburgh, ecclesiastical officials regularly announced "public fasting and humiliation" prior to the Eucharist. These fasts involved both public and private elements. Again, Blair indicates that beyond the customary shared fasting, individuals were expected to refrain from breakfast on the morning of the Lord's Supper. People had already gathered at the kirk the previous day for a Saturday preparation sermon, which entailed considerable self-examination and repentance. Finally, the Scottish churches conducted thanksgiving sermon services on the Monday following the Supper.[65]

The celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Reformed tradition encompassed a rich array of ritual practices. Conventional assumptions that Calvin and others did away with ceremonies are simply inaccurate. Rather, the activities and arrangements they developed for the conduct of the sacrament were powerful, profound, and pervasive. The liturgical practices bore testimony to the primacy of Word and accentuated the eucharistic celebration as a communal event in which the members of a true church, distinguished by their beliefs and behavior, actively participated. The entire community of faith shared the sacral meal on a regular basis. Men and women prepared together with catechism lessons and penitential rites. In addition, they invited recalcitrant sinners to take this occasion to reconcile with the church. Lay members of the ministry provided the critical elements of bread and wine, which all ate and drank in common. There were, to be sure, differences from one locale to another. People sat in some cases, stood in others. And the order for reception could be contentious. But these do not matter. This most basic of Christian rituals steadfastly underscored the fundamental principal of communal harmony and strengthened the spiritual identity that flowed from the sacrament.

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[64] Robert Blair, *The Life of Robert Blair, Minister of St. Andrews, Containing his Autobiography, from 1593–1636* (Edinburgh, 1848), p. 7.

[65] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 24, 50, n. 103, 86, 93–100, 111–12.

ANABAPTIST LITURGICAL PRACTICES

Michele Zelinsky Hanson

> Hans Fesenmair, weaver from Augsburg, says: "He was in the basement [at the meeting] all night long. Someone read to them and they held the Lord's Supper together . . . Someone brought two jugs of wine and nine or ten rolls, but he doesn't know who. They shared [the wine and rolls] among one another for the Supper."[1]

Hans Fesenmair's account gives us an enticing hint of how Anabaptists might have celebrated the Lord's Supper in 1528. The appellation Anabaptist or *Täufer* calls attention to the centrality of adult baptism in the faith, but Anabaptists viewed the Lord's Supper as an important complement to the sacrament of baptism.[2] Arrested in Augsburg at a meeting held on Easter Sunday, Fesenmair and nearly a hundred others testified under interrogation about their attendance at Anabaptist meetings.

Fesenmair was one of the few who mentioned celebrating the Lord's Supper. The use of jugs of wine and rolls (*Semmeln*) indicates that they celebrated the Supper in both forms and also suggests a degree of simplicity to the proceedings. They were not using chalices and wafers. Fesenmair employs the phrase "together" or "among one another" (*unter ein ander*), which suggests that all those gathered at the meeting, as opposed to just the minister, participated in the Eucharist. Even from this brief account we glean a few observations that reveal central characteristics of the Anabaptists' liturgy of the Eucharist: imitation of the apostles, simplicity, and communal experience. Surviving documents from the sixteenth century suggest that the Anabaptists designed their liturgy of the Eucharist to strengthen and reaffirm the believer's faith and dedication to transform his life.

There are very few documents that describe Anabaptist liturgies of the Eucharist, primarily because the religious movement was illegal. In all but a very few places, believers were prohibited from gathering for worship.

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[1] Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Literaliensammlung, Wiedertäuferakten, Hans Fesenmair, 14 April 1528, hereafter StadtAA. Lit.

[2] On Anabaptist theologies of the Eucharist, see John Rempel's contribution to this volume.

In most places, Anabaptists could only meet clandestinely, changing locations and times to avoid drawing unwanted attention from authorities. Because communities were permitted no regular meeting places or church buildings or institutional organizational structures, the keeping of church records was not simply difficult and of little importance compared to the community's survival, but in fact, dangerous. Even theologians who wrote prolifically, such as Pilgram Marpeck, Dirk Philips, or Menno Simons, focused almost exclusively on polemical writings, in which they sought to explain and defend their ideas to adversaries as well as coreligionists. A second reason for the paucity of sources, however, was the Anabaptist emphasis on inner more than outer experiences. External practices were not unimportant, but the exact form of them was not decisive for determining the spiritual value of the outward sign. Anabaptists had nothing but disdain for the traditional Church; indeed, they are sometimes described as being anti-church or free church. Anabaptist congregations did not aspire to the institutional bureaucracy of state churches that would have created more voluminous records. The most useful documents for studying the subject of Anabaptist liturgies of the Lord's Supper in the sixteenth century include a eucharistic formulary, a letter, confessional writings, hymns, and legal testimony.

Although Anabaptist theologians lacked institutional authority and could not compel wide-ranging obedience, at least one leader published a formulary intended for dissemination among Anabaptist communities. Balthasar Hubmaier, who was active in Southern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, wrote a detailed instruction for the form of a eucharistic service.[3] It provides an excellent foundation for understanding how Anabaptist theologians translated their beliefs about the Eucharist into liturgical practices for their communities. It does not tell us, however, how closely various Anabaptist communities adhered to such prescriptions, or how they chose one to follow.

Balthasar Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ*, published in 1527, provides a detailed program for an Anabaptist celebration of the Eucharist. Editors H. Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder point out that this detail makes the document unique for the sixteenth century, as so few existing records describe liturgical practices in an Anabaptist church.[4] Hubmaier

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[3] Balthasar Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," in *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*, ed. and trans. H. Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder (Scottdale, PA, 1989), pp. 393–406.

[4] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," p. 393.

wrote the *Form of the Supper of Christ* while in Nikolsburg, an Anabaptist community in Moravia that local authorities tolerated for much of the sixteenth century. From 1526 to early 1528, Hubmaier had an exceptional opportunity to consider how one might design Anabaptist church life.

His *Form of the Supper of Christ* consists of ten steps or points. First, everyone is to arrive at a prearranged time and place and behave respectably. Second, the priest (as Hubmaier called him) is to begin with a prayer that calls the people gathered to remember their sins. Third is scriptural instruction. While Hubmaier leaves the selection of an appropriate passage to the minister's discretion, he does offer a list of recommended texts, including excerpts from Paul, Matthew, Luke, and John describing the Last Supper. Whatever reading the minister might select, Hubmaier intended for the sermon to remind the listeners of Jesus's suffering and death, rouse their sense of gratitude for his generous sacrifice, and encourage them to choose to follow Jesus's way of life. The choice of texts and an appropriate and moving sermon were critical to inspiring listeners to respond authentically to the call for personal, spiritual reformation before sharing in the Lord's Supper.

Hubmaier's fourth step departs markedly from the traditional Mass by inviting the members of the congregation both to raise questions about the scripture and to offer answers. As Hubmaier put it, "[Those] to whom something has been revealed should teach."[5] In this way, the eucharistic service integrated the Anabaptists' belief that the Holy Spirit could inspire any believer, not just clergy, with a true knowledge of scripture. The only group discouraged from contributing was women, whom Hubmaier advises to direct their questions to their husbands at home "so that everything takes place in an orderly fashion." We have evidence that some Anabaptist women did speak at gatherings, but it seems to have been an exception rather than a common feature. A number of sources confirm that attendees participated in discussions at Anabaptist meetings and not only when the Eucharist was celebrated.[6]

Another unique feature of the service appears in the fifth step. Hubmaier instructs worshipers to examine their consciences to ascertain their readiness to participate in the Eucharist. They should possess four essential qualities: first, the appropriate belief in the Lords sacrifice; second,

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[5] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," p. 396.

[6] StadtAA, Lit., Wiedertäuferakten, Elisabeth Hegenmüller, 12 April 1528 and Hans Leupold, 16 April 1528. Hegenmüller and Leupold both state that the brethren would speak up to instruct one another at meetings.

hunger for the "spiritual eating and drinking;" third, gratitude for God's love; and, finally, commitment to fellowship with the community of believers, including a willingness to suffer on their behalf. At this point in the instruction, Hubmaier offers an extended explanation of the importance of the individual believer's spiritual transformation taking place *before* partaking in the physical components of the Eucharist. He asserts that "without this inner communion in the spirit and in truth, the outward breaking of bread is but an Iscariotic and damnable hypocrisy."[7] By first undergoing an inward self-examination, the individual should come to the Lord's Supper in full understanding of its significance as a "living commemoration" of Christ's suffering and death. This prior, spiritual awakening was, according to Hubmaier and other leaders, to distinguish Anabaptists from other Christians, leading them to salvation as well as to a visible reformation of their daily life.

The introduction to step six encapsulates Hubmaier's intentions and understanding of the eucharistic experience. In it, he describes one who may participate in the Eucharist as the person who can sincerely say

> the love of God which he has shown to me through the sacrifice of his only begotten and most beloved Son for the payment of my sins . . . of which I have heard and been certainly assured through his holy Word, has so moved, softened, and penetrated my spirit and soul that I am so minded and ready to offer my flesh and blood, furthermore so to rule over and so to master it, that it must obey me against its own will, and henceforth not take advantage of, deceive, injure, or harm my neighbor in any way in body, soul, honor, goods, wife, or child, but rather go into the fire for him and die . . . Such a person may with good conscience and worthiness sit at the Supper of Christ.[8]

Step six does not so much articulate an action to take place in the liturgy as clarify Hubmaier's expectation of how an ordinary follower might find him- or herself worthy of participation in the Eucharist after such a penetrating self-examination. He explains that Christians do indeed have free will and, therefore, can and should make a commitment to do good. As he puts it, "For God works such willing and doing in his believers . . . through the inward anointing of his Holy Spirit, so that one stands in complete freedom to will and to do good or evil."[9] Anabaptists may not escape the call to do good works by begging off with claims to human weakness.

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[7] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," p. 398.
[8] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," pp. 399–400.
[9] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," p. 400.

Rather, according to Hubmaier, God requires from his followers not mere words but good works and the will to do them. He assures his readers that innate human weaknesses will not count against them; failure matters less than the effort and desire to do good. With this consolation, Hubmaier encourages believers to respond favorably to the invitation to the Lord's Supper.

The seventh step in the liturgy begins with a period of silence devoted to meditation on the suffering of Jesus and concludes with the congregation's praying aloud the "Our Father." The eighth step consists of the Pledge of Love, which highlights the believers' fellowship in the community. In this pledge, the congregation is to respond "I will" to a series of promises, presumably read aloud by the minister. These promises include the intentions to love God, to love and serve one's neighbor, to practice fraternal admonition and to make peace with others. The last promise invites them to confirm their pledge by sharing in the Eucharist.

In the ninth step, Hubmaier instructs the bishop (Hubmaier's term) to take the bread and, "with the church," look up to heaven and recite a prayer of thanks and praise.[10] The bishop should then break the bread and pass it "to the hands" of those present, recalling Jesus's words from the Last Supper and carefully describing the eating of the bread "in the memory of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus Hubmaier includes in the liturgy an explicit reminder that the loaf of bread or rolls should not be confused with Christ's actual body or essence. The ritual repeats with the wine "in the memory of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,"[11] which is also passed into the hands of the congregation. Some congregations apparently preferred to receive the Lord's Supper by gathering around a table, in imitation of a meal, but Hubmaier does not require or mention this.[12] Gathering around a table would not have been feasible for large meetings or those held outdoors, as many were throughout the sixteenth century. In those cases, they sometimes laid a cloth on the ground in place of a table.

In the tenth and final step, the congregants resume their seats to hear the minister's concluding admonition. At this time he is to instruct his listeners to think of themselves as becoming one bread and one body together through participation in the Eucharist. He is also to remind them

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[10] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," p. 404.
[11] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," p. 405.
[12] Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *The Anabaptists*, ed. and trans. Trevor Johnson (London, 1996), p. 113.

of the commitments they have made in their believers' baptism and the pledge of love which they made prior to receiving the Eucharist. He is to exhort them to make good on their "pledge, promise, sacrament, and sworn commitment," thus reiterating the Anabaptists' vision of the sacrament of the Eucharist as an opportunity to strengthen the believer's obligation to do good, rather than as a rite that confers grace.

In the absence of an institutional hierarchy, Anabaptist communities were more or less self-regulating, so Hubmaier's formulary stood as a recommendation not a decree. It appears, nonetheless, to have had some influence on other leaders. Anabaptist groups communicated frequently among one another through itinerant preachers and letters—as the apostles also did—to share news, advice, and admonishments, and occasionally censure one another. They also occasionally attempted to reach agreement on their beliefs and practices through conferences of leaders.

The conference held at Schleitheim in 1527 was one such attempt at unity. According to later discoveries, the Schleitheim Confession, attributed to Michael Sattler, contained a "Congregational Order" of seven articles that mirrored the first seven articles of the Confession.[13] The first article of the "Congregational Order" stated: "The brothers and sisters shall meet at least three or four times a week." The seventh article stated: "The Lord's Supper shall be held, as often as the brothers are together." The Schleitheim Confession had little currency beyond southern Germany and Switzerland and was not accepted unanimously even there. Although the "Order" recommended holding the Lord's Supper frequently, legal testimony, which will be discussed below, does not support a conclusion that Anabaptists did so.

The writings of Bernhard Rothmann, Pilgram Marpeck, and Dirk Philips provide some evidence that other leaders shared Hubmaier's views, though no documentation exists to trace the influence of his *Form of the Supper of Christ* directly on later liturgies. In his 1534 work, "Restitution," Rothmann provides a brief description of some features of the Lord's Supper as practiced among Anabaptists in northern Germany. He writes:

> Now regarding the usage of the Supper. The Scriptures indicate that Christ used it in a common room . . . while he had his disciples and those who loved him gathered together . . . This use of the Supper is now the practice among us.

[13] "Schleitheim Confession (Anabaptist, 1527)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, accessed February 22, 2012, http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/S345.html, note 69.

> We gather together in a convenient place and expect that we will come each with examined heart so that we may approach worthily to proclaim the death of the Lord in true faith and to break the bread with one another in true love to each other. After that we fervently pray to God for all necessities but especially for our dear brothers and sisters who are still subject to the dragon.[14]

Two clear similarities appear between Hubmaier's and Rothmann's descriptions. First, both expect that only believers shall participate and only after examining their hearts, as Hubmaier advised. Second, this examination should result in only those who truly love Jesus gathering to share in the meal. These themes appear again in Marpeck's "Admonition of 1542." He declares:

> The individual is to look in upon himself when he prepares to go to the Lord's Supper, and he should not concern himself with what the external bread and wine signifies. Unfortunately, too much time has been spent in debating [the nature of the bread and wine] . . . In contrast, the self-examination of the heart proves to be beneficial in the act of eating and drinking the Lord's Supper.[15]

He later adds, even more forcefully, "The Lord's Supper shall also be used to prevent participation of any unbelievers . . . they lead an unclean, disfigured, deceitful life . . . they shall not have communion with Christ's body nor participate in His supper."[16] Marpeck emphatically endorsed the concept of examination before receiving the Eucharist and the resulting purification of the community by eliminating those who did not show true love for Jesus.

Dirk Philips, a leader of the Dutch Anabaptists, presents a perspective from northern Germany in the later sixteenth century. His *Enchiridion* (1564) offers none of the detail of Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ*, but it does provide some guidelines for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Philips's colleague Menno Simons influenced Dutch and north German Anabaptists far more, but Philips offers guidance that Simons did not provide in his published writings. In the *Enchiridion*, Philips outlines four general principles to guide eucharistic celebrations.[17] First, a congregation

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[14] Bernhard Rothman, "Restitution," in *Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources*, ed. Walter Klaassen (Scottdale, PA, 1981), pp. 201–202.

[15] Pilgram Marpeck, "The Admonition of 1542," in *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, ed. and trans. William Klassen and Walter Klaassen (Scottdale, PA, 1978), p. 270.

[16] Marpeck, "The Admonition of 1542," p. 278.

[17] Dirk Philips, "Enchiridion," in *The Writings of Dirk Philips, 1504–1568*, ed. and trans. Cornelius J. Dyck, William E. Keeney, and Alvin J. Beachy (Scottdale, PA, 1992), pp. 128–133.

of Christians is to gather to "eat the bread and drink the wine," as Christ directed in Scriptures. Once they have gathered, their minister is to admonish them with a sermon addressing the suffering of Jesus, their willingness to share his suffering, the "unity of spirit and faith," and "the love of God and one's neighbor."[18] Next, Philips writes:

> The Supper shall not be held except only with the friends of God, the true Christians, who have accepted the gospel and through it have improved themselves, and upon the confession of their faith are correctly baptized . . . these and no others are according to the evidence of the gospel to be renewed, admonished, and established with the Supper in the fellowship of Christ and all the saints.[19]

Philips emphasizes the exclusiveness of the congregation of believers. He also evokes a familiar concept from Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ* in that the experience of the Lord's Supper confirms the believer's dedication, exhorts him to avoid sin, and reaffirms his fellowship in the community. In his third point, Philips insists that the Eucharist is a communal meal, not to be received by one person alone, as had been medieval practice. He also adds that communicants should break (not cut) the bread as the apostles and early Christians did, and that both bread and wine should be distributed to everyone participating. Lastly, Philips reminds his readers that a person should "test himself"[20] before receiving the Eucharist, recalling Hubmaier's instruction for self-examination. Apparently, Anabaptist leaders generally agreed on most of the main principles that shaped the liturgies of the Eucharist, though their emphasis varied.

Correspondence between ministers offers other evidence of the Anabaptists' development of liturgical practices. For example, a letter from Conrad Grebel, one of the first Swiss Anabaptists, criticizes Thomas Müntzer's alterations to the Mass. Müntzer was a priest who became an important spiritual leader to the uprising known as the Peasants' War or the Revolution of 1525, in which he died.[21]

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[18] Philips, "Enchiridion," p. 128.

[19] Philips, "Enchiridion," p. 128.

[20] Philips, "Enchiridion," p. 129.

[21] On Thomas Müntzer, see Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *Thomas Müntzer: Mystiker, Apokalyptiker, Revolutionär* (Munich, 1989); Tom Scott, *Thomas Müntzer: Theologian and Revolutionary in the German Reformation* (New York, 1989); Eric W. Gritsch, *Thomas Müntzer: A Tragedy of Errors* (Minneapolis, 1989); James M. Stayer and Werner Packull, eds. and trans., *The Anabaptists and Thomas Müntzer* (Dubuque, IA, 1980). For collections of Müntzer's work, see Michael G. Baylor, ed. and trans., *Revelation and Revolution: Basic*

Conrad Grebel's *Letter to Thomas Müntzer* (5 September 1524) gives us one of the earliest insights into the Anabaptists' views on the celebration of the Eucharist as a communal experience.[22] Writing also on behalf of Andreas Castelberg and Felix Manz, Grebel articulated the views of a circle which opposed the direction of Huldrych Zwingli's reform in Zürich. In the *Letter to Thomas Müntzer*, Grebel's circle objected to the singing of hymns in German, which Müntzer had encouraged. While the Zurich Anabaptists did not object to the saying of the Mass—Grebel continued to call the service by this name—in the vernacular, which was still a novelty, they opposed the singing of any hymns at all, either in Latin or German.[23] To support this point, Grebel cited Scripture, even though he was not able to find passages that explicitly forbade singing. Instead, he relied on the absence of clear directions to sing in the New Testament to defend his claim that it was a human addition. On the issue of singing hymns, Grebel seems to have been motivated mainly by the desire, common to many early reformers, to rid the Mass of any elements that evolved from tradition rather than scripture.

Grebel also provided a specific list of scriptural passages appropriate for the celebration of the Eucharist.[24] While Hubmaier included the same passages in his *Form of the Supper of Christ*, he also suggested a few others and allowed the minister to use his discretion to pick something entirely different, if appropriate to "the time and persons."[25] Grebel's instruction is more precise, as he asserts that "only the words of Matthew 26, [et al.] . . . should be used in the Lord's Supper, neither less nor more."[26] He also clarifies that the words of these texts do not constitute a consecration, nor do they affect transubstantiation—the bread remains bread, and the wine remains wine—"the bread is nothing but bread." To underline his point, Grebel directs that the celebrant should use ordinary bread and an ordinary cup (for the wine) for the Eucharist, as "this would reduce

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Writings of Thomas Müntzer (Bethlehem, PA, 1993); Peter Matheson, ed. and trans., *Collected Works of Thomas Müntzer* (Edinburgh, 1988).

[22] Conrad Grebel, "Letter to Thomas Müntzer," in *The Radical Reformation*, ed. and trans. Michael G. Baylor (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 36–48.

[23] Thomas Müntzer published the first complete Mass in German while serving as pastor in Allstedt in 1524, see Baylor, ed. and trans. *Revelation and Revolution*, pp. 26–28.

[24] Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, and 1 Corinthians 11, cited in Grebel, "Letter to Thomas Müntzer," p. 39.

[25] Hubmaier, "A Form of the Supper of Christ," p. 395.

[26] Grebel, "Letter to Thomas Müntzer," p. 39.

adoration and bring about right knowledge and understanding of the Lord's Supper." For Grebel, the bread carries this significance:

> Although it is only bread, if faith and brotherly love precede, it should be taken with joy. If the Lord's Supper is practiced in this way in the community, it should show us that we are truly one bread and one body, and true brothers of one another, and that we are God's.[27]

He then condemns those who do not distinguish the Lord's Supper from any other meal, who do not eat it to remember Christ's sacrifice and their own obligation to live and suffer for others.

Grebel makes a few additional critical points about the celebration of the Eucharist. It was not to be administered or eaten by one person alone (article 20). It should "not be administered in churches . . . if this produces a false devotion."[28] It was to be practiced often, and without priestly vestments, singing, or other additions. Although Grebel acknowledges that Jesus and, later, the Corinthians, celebrated the Lord's Supper at the time of the evening meal, the Zurich Anabaptists did not think this was required. In this instance, they apparently made an exception to Biblicism for the sake of convenience. He makes a point of warning against allowing "false brothers" to come together with—presumably true—brothers to eat. Grebel and his circle wished to see a pure church consisting only of members in good standing. Grebel's *Letter to Thomas Müntzer* shares Hubmaier's emphasis on the importance of the community. Overall, however, Grebel's description of eucharistic practice does not reflect the same depth of meaning with which Hubmaier invested it a few years later in his *Form of the Supper of Christ*.

Although Grebel presents a more pared down image of the celebration of the Lord's Supper than Hubmaier, he, too, holds that the participant's state of mind and inward experience prior to taking part in the Eucharist are essential to the correct celebration of the Lord's Supper. Grebel seeks to differentiate his recommended eucharistic practices from tradition, even as he is concerned not to replace old observances with new errors. Grebel concludes by exhorting Müntzer to

> do everything only according to the Word, and to preach and to establish what the apostles practiced . . . If this cannot be done, it would be better to

[27] Grebel, "Letter to Thomas Müntzer," p. 39.
[28] Grebel, "Letter to Thomas Müntzer," p. 40.

> let everything stay in Latin, unchanged and untranslated, or not administer the Lord's Supper at all.[29]

Although Grebel disapproved of singing hymns, many Anabaptist groups, including the Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites in Moravia, used hymns, which they bound and preserved into books.[30] At least five hymns composed in the first half of the sixteenth century, some of which are still in use today, were sung in Anabaptist worship services. Their writers composed the lyrics to explain the meaning of the Eucharist to the gathered worshipers. The lyrics reinforce concepts outlined in Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ*. The texts of the hymns, then, provide an interesting correlation between the theology and the practice of the Eucharist. Hans Hut (d. 1528), a preacher from Franconia who became an influential leader of the Anabaptist movement in Southern Germany, composed several of the hymns the Hutterite Brethren preserved.[31] His hymns reiterate elements of the liturgy that Hubmaier articulated in his *Form of the Supper of Christ*, such as the emphasis on the Holy Spirit's revitalizing and nourishing the Christian. For example, Hut wrote:

> If we would truly see God,
> Godly love must burn in us.
> It makes us into vines, the Spirit gives life,
> And in this way the Body of Christ is given to us.[32]

Likewise, an anonymous hymn stressed the point of having internal, spiritual regeneration take place before eating the bread or drinking the wine. Hymn 92 from the Swiss Brethren's *Ausbund* warns against participating in the Lord's Supper without the correct disposition:

> You must be clean, then, and pure
> When you want to partake of it.
> You must be fed with God's Spirit.[33]

Spiritual nourishment, accompanied by gratitude and the intention to transform one's life, should precede the eucharistic celebration. The lyrics of this hymn call to mind Hubmaier's and other leaders' instructions that individuals examine their conscience.

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[29] Grebel, "Letter to Thomas Müntzer," p. 40.
[30] C. Arnold Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ: The Anabaptist Tradition* (London, 2004), p. 93.
[31] Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ*, pp. 92–94.
[32] Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ*, p. 100.
[33] Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ*, p. 98.

Other hymns highlight important aspects of the Lord's Supper as practiced by the Anabaptists. Hut's hymn of "Thanksgiving" begins:

> There the little grain of wheat was ground
> That paid for our sins.
> There the true bread was broken,
> Of whom the prophets spoke.
> The bread of life was given to us
> When Christ hung on the cross.[34]

This hymn links the grinding of wheat, which forms the bread of the Eucharist, to Christ's suffering. Many Anabaptist theologians also compared believers to individual grains of wheat who would suffer for their faith—whether through persecution or the battle to overcome sin—and together make one loaf of bread. For Anabaptists, bread carried many meanings.

The hymn also depicts Christ's sacrifice, which had already taken place centuries before, as the only sacrifice required for forgiveness of sins. It reinforces that, for Anabaptists, the celebration of the Eucharist memorializes rather than repeats Christ's sacrifice.

Hymn 92 also celebrates the community's relationship to Christ:

> As the vine has many branches,
> So the community of Christ
> Is included in His power.
> In this way one partakes of Him.[35]

This hymn emphasizes Christ's presence in the community of gathered believers, not in the physical bread and wine. Singing hymns such as these during eucharistic services affirmed the lessons that ministers wished their Anabaptist followers to understand and served as an aid to memory, helping to inculcate a proper understanding of the Lord's Supper.

The final source of information, albeit problematic, is the legal testimony gathered through the interrogation of arrested Anabaptists. Although acquired in a situation defined by duress, some statements were indeed offered voluntarily, at times, gratuitously, as when defendants brought up topics extraneous to interrogation. Anabaptists arrested in the city of Augsburg on Easter Sunday in 1528 were not questioned at all about practicing the Eucharist—not if, how, when, where, who, how

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[34] Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ*, p. 94.
[35] Snyder, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ*, p. 99.

often, or in what form they celebrated the Lord's Supper. The city council had charged interrogators, who were council members, with finding out to what degree each individual was committed to and involved in the movement, who the leaders were, how large and active the movement was, and whether or not it constituted a danger to the community. Thus, questioning concentrated on finding out when and where a person had been baptized and by whom; when and where a person attended meetings, who led them, who else attended them, and whether they had a common treasury or a plan for some kind of attack on the city.

During interrogation, Fesenmair and a few others chose to mention celebrating the Eucharist (most did not). In those few cases in which a person mentioned the Eucharist, interrogators demonstrated their lack of interest by not pursuing the subject. They asked no further questions in that interrogation or in following interrogations of the same or other defendants. As a result, eucharistic worship appears only rarely in the testimony, but those accounts seem to have been given freely. The few remarks offer one of the most elusive perspectives of Anabaptist practices, that of ordinary followers. What did they make of the services, letters, and hymns their leaders produced? Were Anabaptist worship services effective in conveying to the congregation the meaning of the Eucharist as understood by their leaders?

Hans Nadler, a native of Erlangen, was arrested there in 1529, after spending some time as an itinerant—and illiterate—preacher in southern Germany and accompanying Hans Hut on a journey to Nicholsburg. The authorities' interrogation produced Nadler's "Declaration," which included a brief description of the Lord's Supper as a group of Anabaptists (who remain unidentified) held it.[36] Nadler testified:

> I am not certain that they are united in their practice of the Lord's Supper, for I was not always with them . . . but I was with them at a place called Augsburg about a year and a half ago. There at Augsburg we celebrated the Lord's Supper, the Lord's wine and bread. The bread indicates the unity, for many kernels made up one loaf of bread . . . So must we, the many make up one loaf and one bread as is written. That happens through suffering . . . It is similar with the wine. Many grapes become one wine and one drink . . . Whoever wishes to be in the brotherly unity may drink from the cup of the Lord,

[36] Hans Nadler, "Declaration of the Needle Merchant Hans at Erlangen. January 17, 1529," in *Sources of South German/Austrian Anabaptism*, ed. C. Arnold Snyder, trans. Walter Klaassen, Frank Friesen, and Werner O. Packull (Kitchener, ONT, 2001), p. 136.

> for the cup indicates suffering. This unity we celebrated as described when I was present. But whether they still celebrate it in this way, I do not know.[37]

Nadler spoke of a eucharistic celebration that presumably had taken place during the summer of 1527, about a year and a half before his arrest in January 1529. In the spring and summer of 1527, Augsburg was a hub of Anabaptist activity, leading up to the so-called Martyrs' Synod in late August 1527. Nadler describes a celebration which included both forms of the Eucharist. Any self-examination is noticeably absent from his description. On the other hand, the imagery of many grains becoming one bread through suffering, which served as a kind of a metaphor for the persecution and unity of the congregation, clearly made a vivid impression on him. As a companion of Hut, Nadler may well have discussed with him the same imagery that Hut articulated in his eucharistic hymns. Nadler makes an interesting qualification, indicating his uncertainty about whether Anabaptists were united in their practice of the Lord's Supper or even if those in Augsburg still celebrated it in the same way. Perhaps he did not wish to provide false or harmful information that would implicate anyone else, but the general tone of his testimony suggests that he expressed his own ideas openly to the interrogators, taking the opportunity to defend his beliefs. His comment does suggest that there was no uniformly prescribed method for celebrating the Eucharist to which he could refer in his response.

Nadler offers a few other clues about how Anabaptists in his acquaintance viewed the celebration of the Eucharist. Earlier in his testimony Nadler claimed that Christians who truly understand the Lord's Supper would "celebrate the Lord's Supper with one another as [the apostles] celebrated it, breaking the bread here and there in houses," rather than in temples.[38] He also stated:

> Those who live godly lives and show their Christianity in their works as Christ commanded are the church of God. I would gladly be with such a congregation of God. That is my understanding of the Lord's Supper and the body of Christ.[39]

In his observations, Nadler echoes the themes of apostolic simplicity (meeting in ordinary houses rather than in churches), the community of believers, and free will. These echo Hubmaier's claim in *Form of the*

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[37] Nadler, "Declaration," pp. 148–149.
[38] Nadler, "Declaration," p. 146.
[39] Nadler, "Declaration," p. 146.

Supper of Christ that Christians have the free will to choose good, even if they sometimes fail. Nadler apparently shared the view that the Anabaptists comprised the true church, a fellowship of believers who chose to follow God's commands, thereby making themselves worthy of sharing in the Lord's Supper.

Interrogations of Anabaptists who were arrested in Augsburg in the Spring of 1528 offer perspectives from followers, as opposed to leaders, of the movement. In the context of recalling which meetings they had attended, a few Anabaptists mentioned celebrating the Eucharist at one of them, specifically at a meeting held at the home of Barbara Schleiffer in the week before Palm Sunday.[40] Estimates in defendants' testimonies indicate that at least sixty people attended the meeting at Schleiffer's house. Only a handful of them mention celebrating the Lord's Supper, and then only in passing. For example, Anna Malchinger reported, "At the Schleiffer's basement, she had been there the whole night, they preached, held the Supper, [and] Hans Leupold and Georg von Passau read to them."[41] Similarly, Elisabeth Wollschlager states, "They did nothing [at the meeting] except that someone taught them, and they broke the Lord's bread among themselves."[42] She added that it was the only meeting she had been to where they had held the Eucharist. No one else provides any more detail, though the Anabaptist leader, Hans Leupold, did confirm Fesenmair's account that they used several rolls and about two liters of wine at that meeting.[43] Of all the meetings defendants attended, inside and outside of Augsburg, the only occasion when they mention celebrating the Eucharist is at Barbara Schleiffer's house. While it is not possible to reach a conclusion based on a lack of material evidence, it does seem that Anabaptists in Augsburg did not hold the Eucharist with any frequency in the 1520s.

A few records of interrogations, conducted by officers of the Swabian League, tend to confirm this. Diepolt von Stein, who eagerly pursued Anabaptists, arrested a number of exiles who sought residence in the small towns surrounding Augsburg. Göggingen, for example, provided a home for a small Anabaptist community, with intimate connections to believers in Augsburg. One of von Stein's better known captures led to

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[40] Barbara Schleiffer had already been exiled from the city for being an Anabaptist when the meeting in question took place in the cellar of her home. Her daughter and two sons were involved in the movement, and they permitted the meeting to take place in the week before Palm Sunday, 1528.

[41] StadtAA, Lit., Wiedertäuferakten, Anna Malchinger, 14 April 1528.

[42] StadtAA, Lit., Wiedertäuferakten, Elisabeth Wollschlager, 13 April 1528.

[43] StadtAA, Lit., Wiedertäuferakten, Hans Leupold, 16 April 1528.

the arrest and execution of Eitelhans Langenmantel (member of a patrician family from Augsburg), his servants Herman and Margaret Anwald, as well as Bernhard Zirgendorfer and Hans Pfefferlin, both of Göggingen. Unlike authorities in Augsburg, the Swabian League did ask defendants what they believed regarding the Mass and the sacrament of communion, though they did not ask them how they celebrated it. Herman and Margaret Anwald both testified that they had been taught, presumably by Anabaptist preachers, that the Mass and sacrament were "nothing." Both of them stated that they had not received the sacrament for two years, but they had received it under both forms in Augsburg two years earlier.[44] Hans Pfefferlin testified that his baptizer had told him that the Mass had been done away with in Switzerland and was meaningless. Therefore, he had not received the sacrament for one year, but he had received it in both forms a year ago. We do not know if it was in Augsburg or elsewhere that he had received the sacrament. Of the five, Zirgendorfer referred to a recent celebration of the Lord's Supper. In his testimony from Augsburg, where he was arrested on April 12, he claims that he and many others, including a number of exiles from Augsburg, held the Lord's Supper at an inn in Bergheim on Holy Thursday before Easter Sunday.[45] Unfortunately, none of these statements reveal much beyond the usage of the Eucharist in both forms, which was standard for Anabaptists, and the apparently infrequent occurrence of the Lord's Supper.

The records suggest that Anabaptists in the 1520s did not make the celebration of the Eucharist central in their religious life. Whether this was by choice or by necessity we do not know. Statements from Anabaptist legal testimonies recorded in other parts of Germany give us the thinnest of hints regarding the nature and frequency of holding the Lord's Supper. The few testimonies indicate that Hubmaier's and Grebel's exhortations to break and share ordinary bread and wine were observed. Sparse as they may be, the records from various Anabaptist congregations throughout the German-speaking lands consistently describe the sharing of common

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[44] Copies of the interrogations conducted by the Swabian League from 7–10 May 1528 can be found in the Stadtarchiv Augsburg. StadtAA, Lit., Wiedertäuferakten, örprotokolle of Eitelhans Langenmantel, Herman Anwald, Margaret Anwald, Bernhard Zirgendorfer, and Hans Pfefferlin were provided to the Augsburg City Council by the Swabian League. 1–9 May, 1528, Widertäufer Akten, Literaliensammlung, Stadtarchiv Augsburg. Herman Anwald and Margaret Anwald, 8 May, 1528.

[45] StadtAA Lit., Wiedertäuferakten, Bernhard Zirgendorfer, 13 April 1528. Zirgendorfer was banished from Augsburg following his arrest on 12 April and subsequently arrested by the Swabian League.

bread and wine in unadorned vessels whenever the Lord's Supper was held. We find variety in the actual administration of the bread and wine among participants. For example, in some cases the minister broke up the bread himself and then gave a piece to each person, afterwards passing around a cup, bottle, bowl, or other vessel of wine.[46] The Swiss Brethren followed this practice, which Hubmaier had recommended. In other places, such as Württemberg, the minister might break off a piece of bread from a loaf and then pass the loaf to others to break off their own pieces individually. In a few places in Thuringia and Hesse, as well as at Halberstadt and Schneeberg, participants first dipped pieces of bread into the wine and then ate them.

Between 1540 and 1570 a period of relative tolerance gave Anabaptist leaders from Germany, the Netherlands, the upper Rhine, Switzerland, and Moravia an opportunity to establish greater unity among the diverse branches of the movement. In general, the conferences they held in places such as Wismar (1554) and Strasbourg (1555 and 1557) did not create a greater degree of uniformity across borders, and regional differences remained strong, even within immigrant communities. Even when Swiss Brethren settled in various parts of Germany, for example, they tended to retain their own beliefs and practices. In 1568, leaders met again in Strasbourg and endeavored to establish more agreement on fundamental issues of disciplinary principles; only Anabaptists in southern Germany adopted the rules of the resulting Discipline, apparently the first one adopted by them since 1527.[47]

The Strasbourg Discipline of 1568 devoted one article, number eight out of a total of twenty-three, to the subject of the Lord's Supper.

> In the communion there shall be no fixed rule observed as to whether the minister shall break and give or each one break. But each one shall be admonished so that in blameless heart and conscience and in unity with Christ there may be one bread and one manner of breaking. Yet no one shall be forced to accept another usage, and each one shall commune in the congregation in which he is.[48]

The necessity of addressing the issue of how to distribute the bread at communion suggests that there was some difference of opinion; it seems

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[46] Claus-Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism, A Social History, 1525–1618* (Ithaca, 1972), pp. 116–18.

[47] "The Discipline Adopted by the Strasburg Conference of 1568," ed. Harold S. Bender, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 23 (1927): 58.

[48] "The Discipline Adopted by the Strasburg Conference of 1568," p. 64.

equally clear, however, that it was not a matter of great divisiveness. Anabaptists contested other issues, such as the ban, much more ardently, as the writings of Menno Simons attest. The outward form of the Lord's Supper did not carry enough significance to warrant agreeing on or instituting a uniform practice. Rather, congregations could distribute the bread as they chose. Having harmony among the members of a congregation and receiving the bread and the wine in the right frame of mind were of far greater consequence. One could not participate in communion if he or she was under the ban or otherwise had a troubled conscience or dispute with another member of the congregation. Whether the bread was broken by oneself or the minister made little difference. Since the bread was not Jesus's physical body, it did not require consecrated hands to hold it, but taking the bread with the correct understanding and devotion was paramount to all Anabaptist understandings of the Eucharist.

The very disregard for outward forms, which the Anabaptists seemed to cultivate in the sixteenth century, was an important facet of their perspective on the Christian faith. Similar to medieval spiritualists and other reformers, Anabaptists disdained the attention the traditional Church had given to liturgical forms, and held suspect the power that many Christians believed religious ceremonies and rites invoked and conferred on recipients. The model of the church Anabaptists hoped to create, essentially a community of believers devoted to following Christ's example, rejected elaborate liturgies as a distraction from the believer's experience, which they hoped to make more meaningful by removing rituals. Anabaptists in the sixteenth century therefore avoided creating a new regiment of ceremonies.

While there are no other models to compete with or contradict Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ*, we still do not know how many congregations might have followed Hubmaier's lead. He did not leave behind a movement bearing his name. The few records do suggest that Anabaptists adhered to many of same essential principles outlined in Hubmaier's instruction. The writings of other Anabaptist leaders typically expressed similar views when they referred to liturgical forms at all. The features they seemed to agree on include: the use of the Eucharist in both forms; the simplicity of the practice, born out with the use of wine in pitchers and loaves of bread or rolls instead of chalices and wafers; and the participation of the community in the Lord's Supper, as denoted by the way followers shared the bread and the wine "among each other," rather than watching a priest receive it or administer only bread to congregants.

The singing of hymns seems to have been popular in some congregations, as shown by the Swiss Brethren and Moravian Hutterite composition and preservation of hymns, despite Grebel's injunction against singing. Evidence of singing at meetings is lacking, however, at least in Augsburg in the 1520s. When defendants described their activities at meetings, they consistently emphasized reading aloud, studying, teaching, and preaching. As we have seen, the few statements that defendants gave about celebrating the Lord's Supper at a meeting do not go into detail or dwell on what it meant to them. Occasional comments suggest that Anabaptists internalized their leaders' message that the traditional Mass and even the reformers' services were meaningless and the bread and the wine were not Jesus's body and blood. We cannot know to what extent ordinary Anabaptists observed Hubmaier's direction to examine their consciences and make a Pledge of Love before receiving communion, though Philips, Marpeck and others also recommended some form of self-examination before partaking in the Eucharist.

Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ*, Grebel's letter, various eucharistic hymns, legal testimony and confessional documents all indicate that Anabaptists in the sixteenth century retained the Lord's Supper as a Christian institution, but did not practice it with great frequency or uniformity among the various Anabaptist congregations. Leaders formulated the practice of the Eucharist to reflect their belief that it served not only as a memorial to Jesus's Last Supper with his disciples but also as an outward sign of his sacrifice. It was important to believers because it served as a meal of thanksgiving for Jesus's sacrifice and an opportunity for Christians to reaffirm their commitment to follow God's commands, though that might lead to their own persecution. Likewise, their dependence on fellow Anabaptists to sustain each other in difficult times, especially as legal or self-imposed exiles sought new homes among strangers, was affirmed in the imagery of belonging to the community just as a grain of wheat belongs to the loaf of sacrificial bread. Thus, the importance Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ* places on fellowship in the community resonates in Hut's eucharistic hymns.

The celebration of the Eucharist had a meaningful place in the life of Anabaptist believers, and the form of their liturgy reflected key features of their faith: Biblicism, simplicity, community, and the following of inward change by outward signs. First, the Anabaptists' emphasis on reading the New Testament supported and encouraged their interest in continuing the apostolic tradition, as seen in their practice of adult baptism and their

missionary-like ministry that featured the creation of leaders (*Vorsteher*) who traveled to different towns seeking converts and preaching to Anabaptist congregations. The Anabaptist experience of persecution and worshiping in small groups in private homes, inns, and woods contributed to their sense that they shared in the apostles' way of life. On some occasions they even celebrated the Lord's Supper seated around a table at an inn. In particular, receiving the Eucharist in both forms as the apostles did with Christ at the Last Supper, something many reformers demanded, became fundamental to the Anabaptist liturgy.

Second, Anabaptists aimed for simplicity in their religious practice, not in the sense of a faith that was easy to follow—quite the contrary—but rather one which was straightforward and unadorned. Like other Evangelicals, they found the Latin ceremonies and ornately decorated churches to be a distraction from faith and incompatible with a believer's obligation to remember Christ's sacrifice and to embrace his or her own suffering. The use of familiar objects from everyday life, such as pitchers of wine and rolls, was more in keeping with Christ's last meal with the apostles before his death.

Third, Anabaptists placed a great deal of importance on the communal experience of their faith. Perhaps especially because they often had to sever connections with family, friends, or neighbors in order to pursue their faith, Anabaptists relied heavily on fellow believers for support and encouragement, both spiritual and material when needed. The sharing of the eucharistic meal together confirmed and symbolized the role of the congregation in strengthening each other's faith and witnessing each other's commitment to lead a Christian life. In a traditional Mass participants observed from a distance a priest celebrating the Mass in Latin and blessing the Eucharist, while standing behind a screen with his back to the congregation. Then, the laity could receive the eucharistic wafer only (if at all), since the wine was an honor usually reserved for the clergy. In contrast, sharing bread and wine "among each other" reflected the inclusiveness of the Anabaptist movement which emphasized lay participation and the equality of members.

The fourth feature, the Anabaptist belief that inward change must precede outward signs, characterizes their practice of the Eucharist as well as baptism. Anabaptists reserved baptism for believers who were old enough to understand and make a commitment to live as Christians, thus their rejection of infant baptism. An adult Anabaptist received baptism only after feeling moved to follow Christ, which, Anabaptists held,

resulted from the influence of the Holy Spirit. Thus the outward baptism with water, which could happen in large or small groups or in privacy, came after the inward conversion. An adult asked for baptism after feeling the inner change. Likewise, Anabaptists believed that they should only receive the Eucharist if the Gospel reading and sermon, which preceded the sharing of bread and wine in their worship service, had inspired in them a desire to strengthen their commitment to lead a Christian life. Anabaptists celebrated the Eucharist as a reminder of Jesus's sacrifice. More than a simple memorial of Christ's Last Supper, the Eucharist was an outward sign of Jesus's sacrifice, the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood for mankind's redemption. Exactly as with baptism, the outward sign should follow after the internal transformation produced by God's Word within the believer. They ate the bread and drank the wine as an expression of their willingness to undergo a similar suffering for Christ's sake, if necessary. The Eucharist's significance depended on their first absorbing this message and feeling transformed by it.

Perhaps the most vital feature of the Anabaptists' eucharistic liturgy was its celebration as a communal event. Partaking as a community helped to define what the Eucharist meant to them, a demonstration of their bond with Jesus which affirmed their belonging to a special fellowship of the faithful. The Eucharist really only had meaning for them when celebrated in a group. The minister chose readings and gave a sermon designed to evoke the listeners' remembrance of Christ's sacrifice and their gratitude for his ongoing presence in their lives in the form of the Holy Spirit. The congregants prepared themselves by recalling their sins and renewing their commitment to transform their lives. The congregation was invited to speak up to confess sins, chastise others, and share insights as inspired by the Holy Spirit. Only true believers moved in good faith by the spirit were to receive communion. Thus, the Eucharist also provided an opportunity to define the community. Although the minister had an important role in leading and instructing the congregation, the entire congregation shared in the eating and, sometimes, the breaking of the bread. The minister did not transform the bread and wine in a ceremonial mystery; physically the elements remained bread and wine, because Anabaptists believed that Jesus remained seated at God's right hand in Heaven and, therefore, could not be in two places at once. Jesus's presence took the form of the community of believers who followed his example. By receiving the Eucharist, then, they acknowledged their membership in this faith community and their obligation to support and encourage it, as well as

their willingness to suffer in the battle against sin and at the hands of persecuting authorities.

Eucharistic practices in the sixteenth century reflected Anabaptism's core beliefs and principles. Hubmaier's *Form of the Supper of Christ* iterates that the celebration of the Lord's Supper had significance beyond mere memorializing in Anabaptist worship. Although adult baptism was the hallmark of the Anabaptist experience, for believers as well as outside observers, the Eucharist functioned as an important complement to baptism by reaffirming the believer's faith in Christ's sacrifice, their commitment to avoid sin, lead a Christian life, and suffer persecution willingly. The surviving eucharistic liturgical forms, letters, hymns, and other records from the sixteenth century indicate that Anabaptists redefined the Eucharist in a manner that exemplified their new understanding of the Christian faith and way of life.

ANGLICAN LITURGICAL PRACTICES

James F. Turrell

The English Reformation involved a series of attempts to reshape eucharistic practices. Two waves of reform under Edward VI substantially changed the liturgy. A conservative reaction under his successor, Mary, essentially restored late medieval eucharistic practices. It took the long reign of Elizabeth I to cement the reforms to eucharistic practice and piety. A relatively stable situation lasted into her successor's reign, though a significant minority within the church continued to believe the liturgy to be insufficiently reformed. Eucharistic practices became a flashpoint of controversy in the reign of Charles I, contributing to the English civil wars. Finally, in the Restoration of church and monarchy in the 1660s, the Church of England settled into a relatively stable pattern of eucharistic practice and piety.

The initial phase under Henry VIII did not generally address the liturgy of the Eucharist or associated practices. The medieval Mass that Henry VIII knew, and that the reformers reacted against, resists easy summary.[1] There were a variety of "uses" in England, the predominant being the Sarum Use, but the fundamental liturgical structures remained the same.[2] The laity and clergy had distinct but overlapping experiences of the Mass, because of both the unique role of the priest-celebrant and the barriers posed by language (the Mass was in Latin) and literacy (the devotional books that allowed the laity to follow along with the action at the altar were not universally accessible). Also, there were various stagings of the Mass: the private Mass, said in a chantry by a priest with one server, for the benefit of the soul of a dead person; the weekday Mass, said at a side altar by a priest, with a cluster of laity in attendance; the parish Mass said on Sunday morning at the high altar, separated from the laity by the rood screen.

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[1] On Catholic eucharistic practices, see Isabelle Brian's contribution to this volume.

[2] A "Use" is a local variant on a general liturgical pattern or "Rite." The Sarum Use was the adaptation and inculturation of the generic Roman Rite that originated in Salisbury and spread throughout southeastern England. Other Uses in England included those of York, Hereford, and Lincoln; there was also a Use of Bangor in Wales. Compounding the potential confusion, one may also use "rite" to refer to a ritual; the use of capitals and the geographic modifier tend to signal when "rite" is used, as here, in the technical sense.

In a given parish church, there might be multiple daily Masses taking place. All of this combines to complicate the picture of the medieval Mass.[3]

The lay experience of the Mass in the Middle Ages was about seeing and adoration. Observing the host was thought to convey some of the benefits of communion, without the same jeopardy to the soul that unworthy reception of the consecrated bread might bring. To facilitate this, the practice of the elevation had developed, in which the priest would raise the host high overhead at the words of institution, the moment at which it was thought to be transformed into the body of Christ. Multiple Masses might take place at once, with their timing staggered, to allow the laity to see the consecrated host as many times as possible. The laity donated candles to illuminate the elevation, and a bell was rung to warn parishioners when it was about to take place. The laity said specific elevation prayers as the priest raised the host.[4] The Mass was, for most people, not about communion *per se*. Most people received communion only annually, as required by the Fourth Lateran Council, during the Easter season.[5]

The Books of Common Prayer

The reformation of eucharistic practice began in earnest with the Order of Communion and the two Books of Common Prayer published under Edward VI. The theological positions, implied and explicit, of each have been discussed elsewhere in this volume, but eucharistic practices themselves were altered by the Order and by the 1549 and 1552 Books of Common Prayer. Of the three, the 1552 prayer book (which represented the mature theology of Thomas Cranmer, the architect of all three) was by far the most radical, but each changed the nature of the eucharistic experience for the laity.[6]

The 1548 Order of Communion was a vernacular insertion into the Latin Mass. It was a penitential ritual, designed to prepare lay persons to receive communion. Based on a rite of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, with

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[3] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, 2005 [1992]), pp. 91–112, 123–129.

[4] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 95–98, 103, 119.

[5] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 93.

[6] For a recent critical edition of the prayer book texts, see Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011). For a summary of the prayer book's reception and impact, see Diarmaid MacCulloch's review of the edition, "Mumpsimus, Sumpsimus," *London Review of Books* 34, no. 10 (2012): 13–15, accessed July 2, 2012, http://www.lrb.co.uk/v34/n10/diarmaid-macculloch/mumpsimus-sumpsimus.

borrowings from other sources, it included an exhortation, a confession of sin, the "Comfortable Words," the Prayer of Humble Access, and words of administration.[7] The Order was a significant change in several ways. First, it assumed the communion of the laity, something that was a rarity in the medieval liturgy, and called for communion to be received in both kinds, also unusual. Second, the Order was a vernacular text. Third, by supplying penitential texts for preparation, it displaced the private confession formerly required to receive communion.[8] The Order made the Mass more accessible for the laity, fostering their participation.

The first Book of Common Prayer, published in 1549, put all of the liturgies of the church in the vernacular. Thomas Cranmer produced a eucharistic rite which was an amalgam of the Sarum missal, the vernacular Order of Communion (1548), and other materials, following Sarum's basic structure. In one sense, this was a fairly conservative revision, and the performative aspects of the Mass were kept largely intact. The priest still wore traditional vestments, and the eucharistic prayer might be chanted. Many familiar gestures remained: the priest made the sign of the cross at the *epiclesis*[9] ("...with thy holy spirite and worde, vouchsafe to bl+esse and sanc+tifie these thy giftes and creatures of breade and wyne..."), and the priest handled the bread and the wine at the words of institution concerning each.[10] The few changes made to its performance reflected an Evangelical understanding of the sacrament. The Eucharist was not to be celebrated unless there were several communicants to join the priest, and it was to be celebrated at least three times a year. While wafers were still used, they were not to have any image imprinted on them, and the priest was to break each into two or more parts as he distributed them.[11] Significantly, the rubrics forbade any elevation of the bread or cup.[12] The elevation had become the focus of medieval eucharistic piety, and its omission eliminated the chance for the adoration of the consecrated bread, a move

[7] G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London, 1969), pp. 62–65.

[8] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 384–385.

[9] The "*epiclesis*" is the technical term for the invocation of the Holy Spirit over the gifts of the bread and the wine in the Eucharist. The presence of an explicit *epiclesis* in a eucharistic prayer implies that the Spirit is doing something to the bread and the wine, and it can be taken to imply a change in the eucharistic elements.

[10] *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI* (London, 1999), pp. 222–223.

[11] *First and Second Prayer Books*, pp. 229–230.

[12] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 223.

that fit Cranmer's understanding that there was no real presence of Christ in the elements, as well as his particular detestation of the elevation.[13]

While liturgiologists would see the 1549 prayer book's eucharistic rite as a modest revision, it was sufficiently radical in its day to precipitate a popular uprising in western England, the Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549. The causes of the rebellion were multiple, but the rebels complained in particular about the new prayer book. They likened its liturgy to a "Christmas game," and the Cornish among them complained that they did not understand "this new English" (Cranmer sarcastically replied that they did not understand Latin, either).[14]

The eucharistic rite in the second prayer book, published in 1552, was essentially the 1549 liturgy reshaped by a massive cut-and-paste job, reorganized to remove anything that resembled an offering to God or that implied a change in the elements of bread and wine. The new structure also made the reception of communion the experiential high point in the liturgy.[15] In keeping with this textual change, the staging of the liturgy was altered. The prayer book's rubrics eliminated the use of wafers, substituting ordinary bread, and indicated that any leftovers could be taken home by the clergy. This last rubric underscored, for anyone paying attention, that no change had taken place in the eucharistic elements: they were bread and wine before consecration, and they remained nothing but bread and wine afterwards. Kneeling was prescribed for reception, but the "Black Rubric" (so named because it was added too late to be printed in the customary red type) clarified that this was not out of any adoration of the bread and the wine.[16] The new prayer book abolished eucharistic vestments and instead required the minister to wear a surplice. Finally, the minister was to stand on the "north side" of the table (no longer an "altar") at which the Eucharist was celebrated.[17] This rubric made sense in the context of the alterations to church interiors that had taken place. In the Middle Ages, altars had been located against the far wall of the church,

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[13] On the elevation, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 95–100, 117–120.

[14] Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 179–180; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 430, 439; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), p. 174; Judith Maltby, "The Prayer Book and the Parish Church: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Restoration," in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford, 2006), p. 80.

[15] Colin Buchanan, *What Did Cranmer Think He Was Doing?* (Bramcote, 1982), p. 23.

[16] On the Black Rubric, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 526–529.

[17] *First and Second Prayer Books*, pp. 347, 377.

reckoned as liturgical "east" regardless of the actual compass direction. The altars were oriented on a north-south axis, meaning that the long side was against the wall. Beginning in 1549, altars were removed and replaced by tables.[18] The new tables were placed in the midst of the chancel and oriented on an east-west axis.[19] Situating the minister on the north side therefore put him in the middle of the long side of a conventional dining table.

The prayer book was suppressed under Mary Tudor, but the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 brought a new revision the following year. The 1559 book was essentially the 1552 book with light modifications, including the omission of the Black Rubric and a combination of the words of administration from 1549 and 1552. The prayer book itself opened the door for the revival of traditional eucharistic vestments, but the royal injunctions released the same year mandated the garb of the 1552 book: the surplice, worn over the minister's cassock. Later, the canons of 1604 reiterated this requirement for colleges and cathedrals, adding also that graduates were to wear their academic hoods.[20] The Elizabethan injunctions also directed that the communion table stand where the altar once stood, at the east end of the chancel, to be pulled into the midst of the chancel for the communion service, but most parishes placed them in the midst of the chancel and left them there, as they had stood under the 1552 book.[21] Otherwise, the eucharistic rite remained unaltered in the new prayer book, and it would remain so through the 1604 revision until 1662.

Using the 1552/1559/1604 Prayer Book

The typical performance of the prayer book's eucharistic liturgy had a marked Evangelical ethos. The liturgy was to take place immediately

[18] The removal of altars was official policy in London in 1550, and there were instances of sanctioned removals as early as 1549, see Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 14–21.

[19] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 22–23.

[20] Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, 3 vols. (London, 1910), 3: 20; Gerald Bray, ed., *The Anglican Canons, 1529–1947* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), pp. 286–287, 296–297; F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, 2 vols. (London, 1915), 1: 127.

[21] Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles*, 3: 20, 27–28; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 52, 60, 72–74.

after morning prayer and the litany, so that the congregation might be saturated in scripture and prayer before the Eucharist itself began. The congregants were not required to have their own prayer books—though some brought their own—but many seem to have known the liturgy more or less by heart. As Judith Maltby has pointed out, whether by aid of their own copies or by dint of repetition, lay parishioners had sufficient knowledge of the liturgy to bring up on charges those clergy who deviated from the prayer book's set form.[22] Even those who were not literate could follow along, thanks to the parish clerk, whose role was to lead the oral responses.

Parishioners prized their ability to participate orally in the liturgy. The church courts show cases in which laity complained that the minister read the service too quickly and haphazardly to allow them to speak their lines in the peculiar dialogue, the litanies and preces, of Anglican liturgy. Similarly, they complained when clergy did not follow the set words and structures of the prayer book.[23]

The eucharistic liturgy was a fairly austere one, compared with a medieval Mass or even the 1549 prayer book rite. There were no colorful vestments, and in addition to the prohibition of the elevation in the 1549 prayer book, from 1552 onwards, the minister was no longer to hold the bread and the wine at the words of institution or to make the sign of the cross at the *epiclesis*. The churches in which the liturgy took place had been whitewashed, with stained glass often replaced by clear glass. In addition to the relocation of the communion table, in some chancels benches were placed around it to enable the communicants to be seated in proximity to the table.[24] While they were supposed to take communion kneeling, many instead received the bread and the wine seated on these benches.

Communion was not open to everyone. Clergy were required by the prayer book to exclude anyone who was "an open and notorious evyll lyver" or who had "done anye wronge to his neyghbours, by worde or deede," as well as those who had malice towards their neighbors, until they had reconciled.[25] These restrictions were reiterated in the 1559 royal injunctions, as well as in many articles and injunctions from bishops' visitations.

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[22] Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 28–30.

[23] Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 42–45.

[24] On changes to the interiors of churches, see Andrew Spicer's contribution to this volume.

[25] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 377.

The 1604 canons had similar concerns, as communion could be denied on the basis of malice or sin. These canons also barred "schismatics, strangers, and churchwardens who fail[ed] to present offenders."[26] In practice, sinful behavior was rarely the basis for exclusion; malice was the more frequent cause for exclusion.[27]

In addition to good behavior and neighborly harmony, there were other prerequisites for communion. The prayer book required that each communicant first be catechized and confirmed. In actual practice, the church authorities only enforced knowledge of the catechism, and they took this requirement quite seriously. The clergy were to catechize on Sunday afternoons, generally before evening prayer, and the sermon during that liturgy was to be on some aspect of the catechism. Visitation articles, used by bishops to query the churchwardens concerning compliance with church law, included questions about catechizing. Wardens were asked if the clergy catechized the youth of the parish, if masters sent their children and servants for instruction, and if anyone received communion who did not know the catechism. Church court records show that violators were prosecuted and, if they did not mend their ways, punished. For the most part, clergy and laity across the Church came into compliance with these expectations.[28] Communion presupposed instruction and examination.

Examination did not necessarily end once one had been admitted to communion as a youth. Many clergy, especially those of a puritan persuasion, made a point of examining all of their parishioners in the time leading up to communion.[29] Some clergy issued communion tokens to those whom they judged ready, to be used on the day that the sacrament was administered.[30] Christopher Haigh's research in the patterns of exclusion from communion in the Elizabethan and Jacobean church shows that ignorance was the most frequent basis for exclusion towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. After 1604, exclusion for ignorance became much less common. Rather than suggesting that catechizing efforts had

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[26] Christopher Haigh, "Communion and Community: Exclusion from Communion in Post-Reformation England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000): 722–723; see also Bray, *Anglican Canons*, pp. 296–301.

[27] Haigh, "Communion and Community," pp. 730–731.

[28] James F. Turrell, "Confirmation, conversion, and catechizing: Patterns of incorporation in the early modern Church of England" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 2002); James F. Turrell, " 'Until Such Time as He Be Confirmed: The Laudians and Confirmation in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England," *The Seventeenth Century* 20 (2005): 204–222.

[29] Haigh, "Communion and Community," pp. 727–729.

[30] Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559–1625* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 212–213; Haigh, "Communion and Community," p. 729.

resulted in a more educated laity, it seems that cases of exclusion for any cause dropped. It may be, Haigh suggests, that there was less anxiety about unworthy reception and more concern for the spiritual benefits of communion. In any case, ministers became generally reluctant to exclude persons from the sacrament.[31]

Overall, most laity participated in communion. Maltby cites the evidence of two London parishes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in which 80 to 98 percent received the bread and the wine.[32] Churchwarden's accounts in other parishes, recording the purchase of quantities of communion wine, likewise suggest that most laity received communion at Eastertide.[33] Church court records also offer a glimpse of the laity's interest in receiving communion. In several cases in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, parishioners charged their minister with negligence for failing to administer communion three times a year as the prayer book required. In one instance, parishioners complained of an irreverent atmosphere, citing "vagabonds" and "rascals" who peered through the chancel window at the congregation, distracting them from their prayers.[34] In other cases, when a puritan minister refused to give his conformist congregation communion as they knelt but insisted that they sit or stand, the congregation filed charges.[35]

When a parishioner went to the chancel to receive communion, he or she received both bread and wine, a change from the usual medieval practice of lay communion in one kind (bread) only. But the nature of that bread varied over the course of the sixteenth century. The 1549 prayer book had prescribed wafers, but the 1552 book had stipulated ordinary, leavened bread. While the 1559 prayer book mandated ordinary bread, the royal injunctions released in the same year required instead the use of wafers. The disjuncture between rubrics and injunctions caused controversy in the church in the 1560s and early 1570s. A number of bishops sought to enforce the use of wafers, which was abhorrent to puritans and the more energetic Evangelicals, while in some parishes the use of ordinary bread caused the more traditional-minded to complain.[36] After the death of Archbishop Parker in 1575, over a period of years, the use of

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[31] Haigh, "Communion and Community," pp. 732–737.
[32] Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 123.
[33] Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p. 212.
[34] Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 46–47.
[35] Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp. 48–49.
[36] The use of "Evangelical" is preferred early in the Reformation in England, but by 1551 one finds "Protestant" in print. John Foxe used it frequently in the 1570 edition of his *Acts*

ordinary bread became predominant. Finally, the 1604 canons, displacing the royal injunctions of 1559, decreed the use of ordinary bread of good quality.[37]

The frequency of communion gradually increased over the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The prayer book and the 1604 canons required that the communion office be celebrated at least three times a year, one of which being Easter.[38] The enforcement mechanisms of the church—the episcopal visitation articles, churchwardens' returns, and the church courts—often insisted that the clergy offer communion on the prayer book's schedule, but rarely bothered to insist on thrice-yearly reception by the laity. Instead, the church enforced annual communion at Eastertide as the minimum for individuals. The expectations of churches varied. Some visitation articles and injunctions insisted, for parishes as well as cathedrals, that communion be offered as frequently as monthly, while a few sets of articles (Bishop Robert Horne's injunctions for Winchester cathedral in 1562 and Edmund Guest's for Rochester cathedral in 1565) insisted that communion be celebrated weekly. Still others asked only if the clergy followed the prayer book schedule of thrice annually. In some parishes communion was offered only once or twice a year.[39] Gradually, however, the frequency of communion increased. By the end of Elizabeth I's reign, the Eucharist was celebrated in many parishes four times a year, and in a few places, monthly.[40] But even a century later, frequency of communion was an issue. In 1683, Archbishop William Sancroft advised his bishops to ensure that communion was celebrated weekly in

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and Monuments, to describe those who rejected papal authority and the Mass, asserted the primacy of scripture, and sought a simplified style of worship.

For an example of early use, see Thomas Becon, *A Fruitful Treatise of Fasting* (London, 1551), sig. A.v. For Foxe's use, see Humanities Research Institute, The University of Sheffield, "John Foxe's Acts and Monuments Online," accessed June 25, 2012, http://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=search&keyword=protestant&edition=1570&x=10&y=7.

[37] Christopher Haigh, " 'A Matter of Much Contention in the Realm': Parish Controversies over Communion Bread in Post-Reformation England," *History* 88 (2003): 393–404; see also Bray, *Anglican Canons*, pp. 288–289.

[38] *First and Second Prayer Books*, p. 392; Bray, *Anglican Canons*, pp. 290–91.

[39] Christopher Haigh, "The Taming of Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," *History* 85 (2000): 587. For enforcement of reception by the laity, see for example Frere, *Visitation Articles*, 3: 106, 156, 226, 275; W.P.M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, 3 vols. (London, 1924), 2: 18, 48, 70, 95, 120; 3: 148, 219, 229, 260–261, 328, 348. For enforcement efforts in relation to the frequency with which communion was celebrated in churches, see for example Frere, *Visitation Articles*, 3: 135, 148, 152, 175, 275; Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, 2: 12, 28, 42, 48, 70, 89; 3: 189, 200, 211.

[40] Haigh, "Taming of the Reformation," p. 587.

the cathedrals, though with variable success.[41] In 1688 Sancroft issued instructions for the bishops to insist to their clergy that communion take place monthly in "ye greater towns," and on the same basis in lesser towns, if sufficient communicants could be "procur'd."[42]

Puritans, Ceremonialists, and Challenges to the Prayer Book Rite

The Elizabethan and Jacobean church's approach to communion was a source of conflict between puritans—who felt the church needed further reform and who often did not comply with the church's ceremonies and rules—and conformists, who complied with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Chief puritan complaints centered on the garb of the minister (who was required to wear a white surplice, instead of the plain, black gown seen in the reformed churches of the Continent); the liturgical texts of the prayer book (which were thought by some to be deficient simply by being set forms, by others to be too close to the medieval Mass); and the ceremonies and gestures accompanying the rite (standing, bowing, and kneeling at particular points in the liturgy). Puritans voiced these complaints in print, as in the *Admonition to the Parliament* and the Millenary Petition, but rank-and-file puritans also engaged in something akin to street theater.[43] In 1627, the churchwardens of Bugthorpe in the diocese of York presented one William Home for "takeing the co[mmun]ion table cloth & puttinge it about him in derision of the minister then having on the surplice."[44] Puritans were eager to avoid anything that resembled a medieval Mass. They also were concerned that the church exercise appropriate discipline, preventing the unworthy from receiving the sacrament for fear of its profanation.

In puritan-dominated parishes, communion might well have followed the prayer book, but there likely would have been variations in its performance. To the degree that one can generalize about a multi-faceted

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[41] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 34, fols. 146, 176, 233, 246.

[42] MS Tanner 28, fol. 121.

[43] John Fielde, *The Admonition to the Parliament* (Hemel Hempstead?, 1572); for the text of the Millenary Petition, see *The Humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and abuses of the Church: with the Answer of the Vicechancelor, the Doctors, Both the Proctours, and other the Heads of Houses* (London, 1641).

[44] York, The University of York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, V.1627/CB, fol. 283v.

movement, one would have found ordinary, leavened bread rather than wafers. The minister might not have worn the surplice, even though he might face prosecution for his refusal.[45] The communicants were examined in the days prior to the celebration of the Eucharist. They gathered around the table (placed in the chancel) for the communion liturgy, and they may well have received the bread and the wine while standing or seated on benches.[46] In more radically puritan parishes, the prayer book liturgy might have been jettisoned, replaced by a homegrown liturgy that included Bible reading, psalm-singing, lengthy preaching and extemporaneous prayer by the pastor, with the institution narrative read over the bread and the wine.[47] While some puritan clergy openly challenged the church's approach to the Eucharist, others more quietly exercised flexibility in its performance.

The Elizabethan and Jacobean church's approach to communion was also challenged by others, who adhered to the liturgical text of the prayer book and saw an increased role for ceremonies. These have been described variously as "Arminians," "Laudians," "avant-garde conformists," and "ceremonialists," the latter being the preferable term, as they predate the ascendancy of William Laud and not all were clearly adherents of the theology of grace associated with Jacob Arminius.

An early ceremonialist, Lancelot Andrewes, in his private chapel revived a number of liturgical enrichments that had been banished, including the use of wafer bread, the lavabo (a ceremonial washing of hands, from the medieval Mass), supplementary prayer texts (including one explicitly offering the bread and the wine to God), and a table placed "altarwise" at the east end of the chapel on a north-south axis. Andrewes topped his altar-like table with candles and surrounded it with rails.[48] Later ceremonialists favored many of Andrewes's innovations, particularly the table placed altarwise, surrounded by rails.

Rails demarcated the holiest space of a church, surrounding the altar/table. Originally, rails may have emerged in the Elizabethan period, as an adaptation of kneelers that were placed around the table standing

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[45] For examples of prosecutions, see Borthwick V.1623/CB, fol. 36r, 50r, 51v.

[46] For an example of prosecution of puritan clergy for refusing to give communion to those who knelt, see Borthwick V.1623/CB, fol. 95v.

[47] Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, "Practical Divinity and Spirituality," in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C.H. Lim (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 199–202.

[48] Bryan Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines: Sacramental Theology and Liturgy in England and Scotland, 1603–1662* (Aldershot, 2002), p. 47.

on an east-west axis in the chancel.[49] The deployment of rails around tables placed longwise in the midst of the chancel continued in the reign of James I.[50] These rails provoked no particular opposition, most likely because they did not fix the table in the altar's former position, against the wall, but rather in the midst of the chancel.[51] The rails that generated controversy were positioned around a table at the east end of the chancel where the old altars had stood.

The repositioning of communion tables at the east end of the chancel on a north-south axis did not happen at once. Initially, a few ceremonialist clergy reoriented their tables altarwise without external pressure, from about 1627 to 1632. After 1632, ceremonialist bishops such as Richard Neile in Durham and Matthew Wren in Hereford ordered the relocation of tables and their railing in.[52] Laud's metropolitical visitation of the southern dioceses of the church reflected a change: in its first year, there was no effort to enforce rails or altarwise positioning, but in the second year (1635), both were enforced.[53] Failure to comply could bring trouble: in 1638 and 1639, Matthew Wren's diocesan courts in Ely pursued two parishes that had no rails around the communion table.[54] By 1640, most communion tables had been repositioned against the east wall of the chancel and railed in.[55] This would have altered the communicants' experience, from an evocation of a meal, gathered around a dining table, to something reminiscent of the sacrificial Mass of the past.

Proponents of rails argued that they protected the altar from profanation. William Laud recorded the story of an unfortunate incident in the diocese of Ely on Christmas Day 1638:

> By reason of not having their Communion Table rayled in that it might be kept from Profanacions, for in Sermon tyme, a Dogge came to ye Table, and tooke ye loafe of Bread prepared for ye Holy Sacramt in his mouth and ranne away with it. Some of ye Parishioners took ye same from ye Dogge and sett it againe upon ye Table. After Sermon ye Minister could not think

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[49] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 52–54.

[50] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 106–107.

[51] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 52–59. The fixed position was contrary to the royal injunctions of 1559, which had stipulated that the table should be placed in the former position of the altar when it was not in use. The authorities seem not to have vigorously enforced that provision.

[52] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 186–205.

[53] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 202–203.

[54] Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records, D/2/51 (1638), fol. 11v (Ely, St Marys); EDR B/2/52 (1639), fol. 6or (Cambridge, St. Andrew's).

[55] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 210.

> fitt to consecrate this Bread, and other fitt for ye Sacrament was not to be hadd in ye Towne. Soe there was no Communion.[56]

Anxiety about dogs (whether real or a pretext) surfaced in some sets of visitation articles, notably Richard Montagu's for Norwich in 1638:

> 11. Is your communion-table enclosed and ranged about with a rail of joyners and turners work, close enough to keep out dogs from going in and profaning that holy place, from pissing against it, or worse? And is there a doore of the same work, to open and shut? Do any persons presume to enter thereinto, except such as be in holy orders?[57]

The same articles insisted that the altar be kept at the east end of the church:

> 12. Is the communion-table fixedly set, in such convenient sort and place within the chancel, as hath been appointed by authority, according to the practice of the ancient church, that is, at the east-end of the chancel, close unto the wall, upon an ascent or higher ground, that the officiating priest may be best seen and heard of the communicants, in that sacred action?
>
> 13. Whether is the communion-table removed down at any time, either for or without communion, in the lower part of the chancel or body of the church?[58]

The argument that rails demarcated holy space—explicit in Montague's articles—could be used by opponents as well. Charles Chancy, a clergyman who had been disciplined for opposing altar rails, argued in a pamphlet that this demarcation was precisely the problem. Rails created a separate, holy space from which the laity were excluded and in which idolatry was encouraged.[59] These concerns were echoed later in petitions against ceremonialists in the 1640s.[60]

Ceremonialists also sought to enforce rules governing the congregation's postures during the Eucharist. The prayer book required congregants to kneel for prayers and the confession of sin, as well as to receive the bread and the wine, while the royal injunctions issued under Elizabeth I in 1559 directed that one should bow at the name of Jesus.[61] Bowing towards the table appears to have been revived as a custom in the chapel royal from

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[56] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 943, p. 291.

[57] Kenneth Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1994–1998), 2: 195.

[58] Fincham, *Visitation Articles*, 2: 195.

[59] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 165–66.

[60] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, p. 222.

[61] Brightman, *English Rite*, 2: 641–701; Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 3: 25.

the last years of Elizabeth's reign into that of James I.[62] Ceremonialists then spread the practice to cathedrals and other churches in the course of James I's reign.[63] By the 1630s, in the reign of Charles I, ceremonialists tried to encourage the clergy and laity to bow to the table on entering and leaving the building and when approaching the table for communion.[64]

Bishops, in their visitation articles and injunctions, inquired if these postures were being observed. Matthew Wren's orders for Norwich in 1636, for example, instructed

> that no man presume to have his hat on his head in the time of service and sermon in the church; and that due and lowly reverence, be visibly don by all persons present, when the blessed name of the Lord Jesus is mentioned; and that every one of the people do kneele devoutly, when the confession, absolution, commandments, or any collect or other prayer is read.[65]

But concern with kneeling to receive communion did not itself indicate a ceremonialist. A number of bishops asked about kneeling at that particular point in the liturgy, because it was a prayer book requirement. Some asked if the minister of a parish gave communion to any who refused to kneel; some also framed an inquiry about the laity who refused to kneel.[66] The church courts in the diocese of York under Tobie Matthew, hardly a ceremonialist, excommunicated a man in 1623 for failing to kneel to receive communion.[67] And kneeling had been required by some visitation articles and injunctions as early as the 1560s, before the emergence of the ceremonialists within the church.[68]

There was no uniform insistence on where the communicants were to receive the bread and the wine. Some ceremonialists insisted that communicants kneel at the rails to receive from clergy located within the rails, but others allowed clergy to take communion to worshipers kneeling at some distance from the rails if they would not come forward.[69] Even-

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[62] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 81, 100.

[63] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 116, 117, 121.

[64] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 134, 148–150.

[65] Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles*, 2: 158.

[66] Laud for Lincoln (1634 and 1638) and Worcester (1635); John Williams for Lincoln (1635); John Thornborough for Worcester (1636); Edmund Griffith for Bangor (1634); William Roberts for Bangor (1640); Wren for Hereford (1635) and Norwich (1636); John Owen for St Asaph (1637); and Juxon for London (1640), Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles*, 2: 87, 91, 96–99, 116, 123, 136, 145, 172, 229.

[67] Borthwick V.1623/CB, fol. 204v.

[68] See Matthew Parker's articles for the diocese of Norwich (1567) and for Canterbury (1569), Frere, ed., *Visitation Articles*, 3: 199, 215.

[69] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 210–218.

tually, the canons of 1640 imposed a clear requirement of reception at the railed table.[70]

In some cases, ceremonialist bishops went beyond the prayer book's rubrics in the gestures they demanded of the clergy. For example, in the 1630s there were occasional prosecutions of clergy for failing to bow towards the altar.[71] Episcopal visitation articles enquired after other practices. Bishop Juxon, for example, asked whether the minister took the bread and the wine "into his hands to blesse and consecrate it," something that was not required in the prayer book between 1552 and the 1662 revision.[72] This would have been a particular departure from the ethos of the 1552 prayer book's communion rite, which had sought to eliminate all manual gestures that suggested that something happened to the bread and the wine.[73]

While these demands about the placement of the altar (and rails), the postures of parishioners, and the wearing of the surplice predictably antagonized puritans, certain of these also alienated a number of conformists. A segment of the church, whom Maltby named "Prayer Book Protestants," were defenders of the prayer book and yet hostile to William Laud and the ceremonialist program. At times, the distinctions drawn by some of these conformists could be quite fine. One clergyman attacked the practice of moving the altar against the east wall of the church, but defended the use of rails and the practice of kneeling to receive communion. Others drew distinctions between "ancient" rails and those lately erected by ceremonialists.[74] There was, Maltby argues, a significant portion of the church that conformed to the prayer book but rejected ceremonialist innovations.

The ceremonialist program of William Laud and his allies ultimately provoked the political tensions of the early 1640s and the English civil wars (1642–1646 and 1648–1649). Richard Drake, the rector of the parish of Radwinter in Essex, found his efforts in 1641 to continue to officiate at communion according to the prayer book frustrated repeatedly. Drake recorded in his diary that the churchwardens locked up the surplice and hood, preventing his access to them, and also locked the church door on holy days. They even refused to provide bread and wine for communion.[75]

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[70] Bray, *Anglican Canons*, pp. 570–571.
[71] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 252–253.
[72] Fincham, *Visitation Articles*, 2: 230; Brightman, *English Rite*, 2: 692–693.
[73] Brightman, *English Rite*, 2: 693.
[74] Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 122.
[75] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D158, fol. 43.

After the defeat of the king, the prayer book was banned. Presbyterian clergy in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, gathered in 1643, favored a set liturgical form, based on John Knox's *Genevan Service Book*, while Independents tended to reject set forms of prayer in favor of free prayer. Their compromise was the Westminster Directory of Public Worship, published in 1645, which offered an outline for clergy to follow in assembling a liturgy.[76] Many clergy never bought a copy of the Directory, however, and the prayer book continued to be used.[77]

The physical arrangements of churches were generally returned to their status before the ceremonialists had altered them. Rails were removed and destroyed, and communion tables were relocated to where they had stood formerly, in the midst of the chancel on an east-west axis. Initially, these changes were made by individuals who read the prevailing political winds, but beginning in 1641, Parliament ordered that communion tables be moved out of an altarwise position and rails be removed. Parliament's instructions were obeyed in most places, though there was occasional resistance.[78]

Despite being banned, the Book of Common Prayer survived in use in all regions of the country, even more or less under the nose of the authorities in several London congregations. Several clergy adapted the prayer book liturgy in cunning ways, technically complying with the ban on the prayer book while clearly following its structure. Others used the prayer book without alteration. Despite periodic raids on congregations that used the prayer book, such as one that caught the diarist John Evelyn at a communion service on Christmas Day 1657,[79] for the most part the authorities tolerated the use of the prayer book. Their chief concern seems to have been the political threat of royalists, not the liturgical survival of the old church.[80] Even some prominent clergy were able to continue to minister with the old prayer book. John Warner, the bishop of Rochester, went into semi-exile in Wales for three years, during which time he traveled

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[76] Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, 6 vols. (Princeton, 1961–96), 2: 344, 405–426; *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1645).

[77] Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p. 60; John Morrill, "The Church in England, 1642–9," in *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642–1649*, ed. John Morrill (New York, 1982), pp. 93, 103–108.

[78] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 274–280.

[79] E.S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), 3: 203–204.

[80] John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 14–16.

and "frequently read ye Liturgy, preached, and administered the blessed Sacrament." Warner reported that later, after returning to his own house in Oxford, "I administered the blessed Sacrament & I confirmed such as cam to me, or I went and confirmed them in Orthodox Congregations."[81] There was a network of parishes that continued to use the old prayer book and its eucharistic liturgy, even when it was ostensibly perilous to do so.

The Restoration of the Prayer Book Eucharist

The Restoration of church and monarchy in 1660 meant a new prayer book revision. The 1662 prayer book preserved the structure of the eucharistic rite that had originated in 1552, and it made only slight changes to the text. Despite numerous suggestions from Matthew Wren, John Cosin, and others associated with Laudian ceremonialism, the church leadership generally opted for a moderate approach to prayer book revision. The ceremonialists were largely ignored, apart from their proposed revisions to the ordination rites.[82] But the modest textual revisions did include two changes that altered eucharistic practice in symbolically important ways, pushing against the ethos of the 1552 book in ways that Thomas Cranmer likely would not have appreciated.

The 1662 prayer book revived the "manual acts" that had been present in the 1549 book but deleted in the 1552 revision. The priest was to take the bread into his hands during the portion of the institution narrative that pertained to it; then he was to do the same with the wine in its corresponding portion of the narrative. For the first time, the 1662 book also required the minister to break the bread during the institution narrative.[83] Handling the bread and the wine in this way could have been taken to imply that something happened to the elements at that moment in the liturgy, during the institution narrative that the medieval church had considered the consecratory formula. But the addition of the breaking of the bread during the narrative meant that one might have read this as a strictly mimetic action: the priest was performing the part of Jesus for the congregation. The symbolism in any case was less direct than the signing of the cross that had accompanied the *epiclesis* in the 1549 book, so perhaps not too much should be made of any sense of change in the bread

[81] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.hist.b.205, fol. 25.
[82] Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, p. 40.
[83] Brightman, *English Rite*, 2: 692–693.

and the wine. But the mimetic character of the moment was a departure from Cranmer's rite.

The other significant alteration to the eucharistic rite was the set of directions concerning the consecrated bread and wine that remained after everyone had received communion. The 1552 prayer book had directed that the minister could have the leftovers for his own use, a provision that had remained in the 1559 and 1604 revisions. But the 1662 prayer book, while allowing the minister to take any unconsecrated bread and wine, instead required that the consecrated leftovers be "reverently" consumed by the minister and others immediately after the conclusion of the service.[84] The earlier provision had underscored that there was no change—or at least no permanent one—in the bread and wine as a result of consecration. The new directive strongly implied that the bread and the wine had been changed permanently; whether or not they became the body and blood of Christ, they could never revert to their former use.

Along with these textual changes, ceremonialist ideas about the proper conduct of liturgy shaped performance. Ceremonies such as bowing to the altar were revived by some clergy and, influentially, in the chapel royal, though it remained controversial and was not universally adopted.[85] In the first decade after the Restoration, there was no concerted effort to enforce railed altars, but in the 1670s and 80s, bishops began to order that communion tables be placed at the east end of chancels and surrounded by rails. The Great Fire of London accelerated the process, as the rebuilding effort meant that the authorities could insist that new churches be built with ceremonialist principles in mind. The new churches' railed altars were greeted with surprisingly little controversy, encouraging bishops of several other dioceses to order parish churches to relocate and rail their tables.[86] The communion table placed altarwise and railed, which was such a controversial item in the 1630s, was largely (though not universally) accepted by the 1680s.[87]

One also finds evidence of a second round of catechizing after confirmation, to prepare for first communion, which might be delayed. For the son of John Evelyn, the Anglican diarist, communion was delayed by some seven years after confirmation. To prepare his son for communion, Evelyn took his son to the Bishop of Chichester to be instructed

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[84] Brightman, *English Rite*, 2: 717.
[85] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 309–311, 335–336.
[86] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 317–333.
[87] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 337–341, 351–352.

further; the boy then received his first communion on Easter Day, at age eighteen.[88] Delays between confirmation and first communion were not uncommon, and it was expected in the case of those confirmed at a young age that they would continue being catechized until they were ready for first communion.[89]

This emphasis on preparation continued long after first communion. The church fostered "worthy reception" of communion as the only way to receive the spiritual benefits of the sacrament.[90] On the market were a number of guides, intended to ensure worthiness. Such books guided the reader day-by-day through a series of preparatory exercises, as well as provided some aids for meditation during the liturgy itself, before finally concluding with thanksgiving prayers.[91] Communion, in the Restoration church, presupposed religious knowledge and spiritual preparation.

* * *

Anglican reforms to eucharistic practice began late and were, in the end, not as thoroughgoing as Thomas Cranmer, the architect of the Book of Common Prayer, sought. The basic reformation principles he enshrined, finally, in the 1552 prayer book's Eucharist were undercut by ceremonialists in the first part of the seventeenth century and substantially undermined after 1662. Communion tables initially replaced altars, only later to be relocated and railed in where the altars once had stood. In 1552, the leftover bread and wine were to be treated in a way that underscored consecration had worked no durable change in them, while after 1662 they were treated with a reverence that suggested an essential change had taken place.

Despite all of these changes and the increasing reverence towards the setting and props of the liturgy, the eucharistic practices of the church remained Evangelical. The Anglican Eucharist, even after 1662, was clearly not the late medieval Mass, and while some ceremonies and practices may have been reminiscent of an earlier age, there was a rejection of medieval transubstantiation and a studied reticence about what may have been going on in the Eucharist. That, more than anything else, was the durable change in practice wrought by Cranmer and those who followed him.

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[88] de Beer, *Diary of John Evelyn*, 2: 472, 4: 6. John Evelyn's son had been confirmed in December 1666 during a visit of the bishop of Rochester to his parish.

[89] Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, c.1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 126–127.

[90] Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, pp. 345–347.

[91] Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England*, pp. 349–350.

THE SPANISH NEW WORLD

Jaime Lara

The subject of the Eucharist in the New World of the sixteenth century requires both humility and constraint on the part of the researcher. The colonizing enterprise of Spain resulted in huge territorial possessions that stretched from the southwest of the present United States to the tip of Tierra del Fuego, and from the Caribbean and Amazon Jungle westward to the Philippines. It would be impossible to do justice to eucharistic practices in an area that encompassed literally hundreds of tribes, languages, mythologies and later, missionary endeavors. I will, therefore, limit myself to Mesoamerica and the paradigmatic encounter between missionaries and the Aztecs (more properly known as the Mexíca) in the first century of the evangelization. I do so because the Aztecs were the first advanced civilization and empire that Europeans encountered on the American mainland. It was there in central Mexico—which the colonizers renamed New Spain—that Europeans came upon large-scale urbanization, elaborate stone religious architecture, highly-developed cultic practices, pictographic writing, liturgical calendars, and a well-articulated metaphysic. In the ensuing missionary enterprise, the imperial language of the Aztecs, Nahuatl, served well as the *lingua franca* of the conversion process. The administration of the Eucharist and other sacraments among Mexica converts represents a truly monumental and creative moment in Christian inculturation of faith and worship. It also raised many questions and engendered controversies.

The sacramental catechesis began in 1524 with the arrival of the Franciscans, followed soon by the Dominicans and Augustinians; and so it initially imparted a late medieval and pre-Tridentine form of Catholicism. This occurred at the very moment in which certain aspects of eucharistic theology were being challenged on the Continent by Evangelicals: the sacrificial aspect of the Mass and the modality of Christ's presence in the communion elements. The decrees of the Council of Trent arrived in Mexico in 1565, but few of the reforms affected attitudes toward the sacraments, especially the Iberian piety surrounding the Eucharist; by that time many medieval customs had already taken firm root.

Few systematic studies of sacramental worship in colonial New Spain have been attempted, and only recently has attention been paid to the

way in which the sacraments were accepted or understood by native peoples. We must piece the picture together from chronicles, church council records, and material remains.[1] They speak with many voices and are not always consistent with one other. Moreover, all the sixteenth-century chronicles were necessarily filtered through the vision of the Christian interrogators, scribes, and authors—be they natives or friars.[2] Admitting that limitation, it will be useful first to describe some qualities of Mexica polytheism before proceeding to Catholic eucharistic practice among the converts.

Divine Providence and America

> The Indians had in their possession the whole Bible written in pictures and in hieroglyphics. With the passage of time they garbled them, applied the stories of Scripture to themselves, and so set their own history and religion on its head. What was the religion of the ancient Mexicans after all, but a Christianity confused by the passage of time and by the equivocal nature of their hieroglyphs. I have made a thorough study of their mythology, and in essence it amounts to God, Jesus Christ, his Mother, Saint Thomas the Apostle . . . Since the Spaniards did not recognize Christianity when expressed in a different language and liturgy, and since enormous abuses had been introduced into it, they set out to destroy the very same religion they professed.
>
> Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, *Ideario político*, 1813[3]

While we today might express amusement at the naïveté of the nineteenth-century Dominican, Servando Teresa de Mier, in believing that Aztec religion was a wayward form of primitive Christianity, it was not so far-fetched a thought for the sixteenth-century missionaries. One popular belief was that the Indians of the New World were the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel, and that certain Hebraic elements could still be detected in their language and cultic practices.[4] Supposedly, Judeo-Christian

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[1] A bibliography of primary and secondary liturgical sources is provided in Jaime Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame, IN, 2008).

[2] On this issue of ethnographic filters, see Philip Arnold, *Eating Landscape: Aztec and European Occupation of Tlalocan* (Niwot, CO, 1999), pp. 217–231.

[3] José Servando Teresa de Mier Noriega y Guerrera, *Ideario político* (Caracas, 1978), p. 11.

[4] On the topic of Lost Tribes of Israel, see Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, IN, 2004), pp. 10, 68–69 and notes. The possibility of finding kith and kin in America raised great hopes among contemporary Jews in Europe where the chronicles of discovery were translated into Hebrew.

evidence could also be found for a first-century apostolic presence in the New World.[5] The Franciscans, in particular, were quick to observe those similarities between Catholicism and native religious expression.[6] In the initial and optimistic period of evangelization, such coincidences were believed to be part of a remote plan of Divine Providence to prepare the Amerindians for Christianity. These practices confused the friars and, at the same time, opened up points of mutual religious association for missionaries and Mexica alike. But what the European interlopers were not prepared for, and what horrified them, were the practices of human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism. These "demonic rites" colored their catechesis and sacramental instruction.

The Mexica were an extremely religious people, totally immersed in a sacred cosmos even though there was an apparent lack of uniformity in their worship and mythology. There is no evidence of a *credo* of required beliefs or a circumscribed pantheon—notions that would be alien to a Mesoamerican way of thinking, and no doubt a constant frustration to the European interlopers who expected similarities to Greco-Roman and Germanic deities, not to mention to the God of the Hebrews. The Mexica were pious polytheists whose animistic religion included a pantheon composed of a bewildering number of male and female deities, some of whom bore superficial affinities to Christ and the saints.[7] These polymorphous gods were creators and destroyers, bearers of both good and ill. Unlike their European counterparts, they were not understood as discrete persons or individuals. They not only personified the earth, wind, water, lightning, and other natural forces like fertility, regeneration, death, and war, but those forces were the gods themselves. Indeed, for the Mexica, who lacked a notion of the profane, the cosmos was alive and imbued with divine energies. Devotees encountered those energies in the use of psychotropic drugs, in the intoxication of pulque beer, in ecstatic dancing, but above all in ritual performance which acted to interpret the place of

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[5] It was widely believed that Saints Thomas and Bartholomew had traveled to the Americas.

[6] Toribio de Motolinía, *History of the Indians of New Spain* (Westport, CT, 1973) is representative of this position. James Lockhart calls this process of transference "Double Mistaken Identity" in which each side of the cultural exchange presumes that a given form or concept is operating in the way familiar to its own tradition. See Lockhart, "Some Nahua Concepts in Postconquest Guise," *History of European Ideas* 6: 4 (1985): 465–82.

[7] Louise Burkhart, "The Solar Christ in Nahuatl Doctrinal Texts of Early Colonial Mexico," *Ethnology* 35 (1988): 234–256.

individuals and peoples in the larger scheme of reality. This transmutable vitality could be found in all of matter, living and active.

Mesoamerican Transubstantiation

Philip Arnold creates a pun in the title of his book *Eating Landscape*, suggesting that the Mexica understood that while they ate the fauna and fruits of the earth, they in turn were consumed as "first fruits" by the same landscape and its deities. Landscape, plant life, and human beings were locked in an eating relationship, a drinking-feeding frenzy. The landscape was an edible reality for human beings, but humans were also the foodstuff of the sacred terrain.[8] Reciprocity was the operative principle as "debt payment" for vitality, and the necessarily violent consequence was sacrifice. Debt payment was the most often-used metaphor for sacrificial offering.[9] For example, in the pre-Hispanic period it was possible to have a deputy-victim sacrificed in one's stead. According to the native informants of the Franciscan ethnologist, Bernardino de Sahagún, a person who survived a serious illness sacrificed a slave, or even his own child, to pay the debt; or when a slave personifying the patroness of weavers was killed, all the women of the weaving corporation somehow died through the victim, provided they had contributed to her purchase and had assimilated themselves to her by their penitential behavior of fasting, dancing, and self-bleeding.[10] In Mexica belief, one could die for the many.[11]

But debts could also be redeemed by the sacrifice of a deity. In such payment, the gods gave their lives and liquids to humans as food and drink; humans in turn offered their lives and liquids to the gods as sustenance. The most important liquids were water and blood, metaphorically inseparable and equitable.[12] Tlaloc—the deity of water and the verdant paradise of Tlalocan—gave his rains each spring, and the lakes offered up their aquatic life, but like us mortals, both the god and the lake thirsted

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[8] Arnold, *passim*. David Carrasco says, "Humans and gods, in order to survive for 'a little while longer,' were constantly on the hunt for vital forces embedded in the bodies of gods, humans, and plants." See David Carrasco, "Cosmic Jaws: We Eat the Gods and the Gods Eat Us," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 63, no. 3 (1995): 435.

[9] Alfredo López Austin, *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1988), 2: 292.

[10] Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of the Things of New Spain*, trans. Arthur Anderson and Charles Dibble, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1950–1982), 6: 33.

[11] Cf. John 18:14.

[12] López Austin, *Human Body*, 1: 168.

and needed to drink the precious fluid of human blood. When a victim's heart was extracted in Tlaloc's temple and his/her blood poured into the lake, human life was then transubstantiated into a material appropriate for the deity's sustenance.[13] Blood was the elixir poured out for the life of the world.

These human victims were often trophies won in the so-called Flowery Wars that the Aztecs waged against neighboring tribes. The most important capturing of human beings took place for the Feast of the Flaying of Men during the month of March. The Dominican friar Diego Durán, basing his report on native memories, recreates a pronouncement of Emperor Moctezuma on the need to harvest men:

> Our god will not be made to wait until new wars appear. He will find a way, a marketplace where he will go with his army to buy victims, men for him to eat. And this will be a good thing, for it will be as if he has his maize cakes hot from the griddle—[human] tortillas, hot and ready to eat . . . The marketplace [where victims will be found] must be in these cities . . . The people from these places will be brought to our god like warm corn breads, soft, tasty, straight from the fire.[14]

Thus, by his death the captive became a comestible messenger to the gods, and so attained to a level of honor and even divinity; in the liturgy he was momentarily transubstantiated into a living icon or real presence of the god (*teotl ixiptla*).[15] During the ritual, the sacrificial victim's heart was extracted on an outdoor altar (*momoxtli*) and placed in a *cuauhxicalli* vessel (lit. "eagle bowl") through which it was symbolically transported by the solar eagle to the heavens.[16] These human beings encapsulated or incarnated the deity.[17] Their divine iconography was heightened by their regal treatment as supernaturals, by the precious green jade jewelry that they wore (reminiscent of the verdant earth), and by their elaborate costumes which included corn tassels or feathered headdresses made to imitate mature corn plants.[18] It was not men who died, but gods within

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[13] Arnold, *Eating Landscape*, pp. 55, 143–164.

[14] Diego Durán, *The Aztecs: History of the Indies of New Spain* (New York, 1964), pp. 231–232; also see Kay Read, *Time and Sacrifice in the Aztec Cosmos* (Bloomington, IN, 1998), pp. 132–133.

[15] Read, *Time and Sacrifice*, pp. 146–147.

[16] The solar eagle is also a biblical figure that Christians had associated with Christ and the Eucharist from the time of Gregory the Great.

[17] David Carrasco, "The Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca," in *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes*, ed. David Carrasco (Niwot, CO, 1991), pp. 46–50.

[18] Arnold, *Eating Landscape*, pp. 84, 160.

a corporeal covering that made possible their ritual death on earth. If the gods did not die, their force would diminish in a progressively aging process, and cosmic annihilation would result.[19]

> Thereupon they stretched them one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife. And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle. They offered the heart to him; they nourished him with it. And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel. And these captives who had died they honored as "eagle men."[20]

In the ritual cannibalism that occasionally followed the sacrifice, the Aztecs believed that the flesh they were eating was a sanctified substance, the flesh of the gods as food.[21] Mesoamerican peoples often considered humans to be another form of maize or flowers that are planted on the surface of the earth; they were born to die and become sustenance in sacrifice and ritual eating, but they also contained within themselves the seeds of regeneration.[22] Corn, that most common of American foods, was also a god in their pantheon, and a multi-layered figure of speech for sacrificial consumption. Maize was the symbolic sustenance for all living entities; in human sacrifice, people became metaphoric corn tortillas for other beings. In fact, human beings were born in corn. In the womb, a baby was understood to be surrounded by maize gruel, just as the earth was surrounded by water. Human life was "cooked into existence," like bread in the oven.[23] Thus at some point in one's biological cycle, one was either eating corn or being eaten as corn. According to Arnold,

> This was not the sad or pessimistic outlook on the world of the Aztec . . . but an indigenous one. Life was based on an interactive reality that food promoted in the relationship between life and death . . . Food was the vehicle of substantive transformation from one reality to another and therefore was an appropriate ritual articulation of transition between realms of being.[24]

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[19] López Austin, *Human Body*, 1: 376–377.

[20] Sahagún, *General History*, 2: 47.

[21] Carrasco, "Cosmic Jaws," p. 435.

[22] On sacrifice as energy redirected from destruction, see Christian Duverger, "The Meaning of Sacrifice," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. Michel Feher (New York, 1989), pp. 366–385.

[23] Arnold, *Eating Landscape*, p. 162. Compare this with similar Christian metaphors in Carra Ferguson O'Meara, "In the Hearth of the Virginal Womb: The Iconography of the Holocaust in Late Medieval Art," *The Art Bulletin* 63, no. 1 (1981): 75–87.

[24] Arnold, *Eating Landscape*, p. 164.

Human beings were twice transubstantiated: once into proxies of the divine, and a second time into a meal for gods and other humans. As David Carrasco pithily puts it, in such a theology, "the gods eat us and we eat the gods."[25]

Catholic Christians, of course, had their own theology of substantive transformation and anthropophagic sacrifice or, as the liturgist Aidan Kavanagh was wont to express it, of the necessity of "slaying rightly to transact the inexorable business of life."[26] Such a eucharistic theology of holy blood and right-slaying emerged in the late medieval period, was reasserted with force during the Reformation, and flourished in Counter-Reformation piety.[27] Simultaneous to this development, the Aztec understanding of comestible divinity filtered their perception of Catholic Christianity and its sacraments.

It should come as no surprise that the Aztecs had, in their pre-Contact rites, a practice of ritual eating that was later (mis)understood as a parody of Christian communion. The Mexica practiced communion under two forms. The first was the aforementioned ritual cannibalism in which small pieces of a human oblation were cooked and ingested. The Franciscan Diego Valadés illustrated this practice in his *Rethorica christiana* (1579), a treatise on preaching and missiology. Valadés had worked in Mexico before traveling to Italy and publishing his missionary reminiscences in Perugia where his Italian engravers created a very classical scenario (Fig. 1). A sacrificed body is being rolled down the steps of a temple pyramid. To the right of the base, priests cut the body into pieces to be cooked and served with corn and beans.[28] These choice morsels were reserved to the priests and nobility, the select classes who had the privilege of communing in this way.[29] The Franciscan chronicler, Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, wryly commented, "The lower classes rarely got a mouthful."[30]

A second form of communion involved eating a deity impersonator made out of maize dough and human blood, a sort of gingerbread man—to use a modern comparison. One account describes a November celebration in honor of the all-seeing god Tezcatlipoca in which a group of youngsters ate small pieces of dough made out of corn and amaranthine

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[25] Carrasco, "Cosmic Jaws." Also see Elizabeth Boone, *Ritual Human Sacrifice in Mesoamerica* (Washington DC, 1984).

[26] See Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (New York, 1984) esp. 34–35.

[27] See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood* (Philadelphia, 2007), *passim*.

[28] Sahagún, *General History*, 2: 111, 125, 129, 141–43.

[29] Carrasco, "Cosmic Jaws," p. 435.

[30] Motolinía, *History of the Indians*, pp. 46–47; and Arnold, *Eating Landscape*, p. 164.

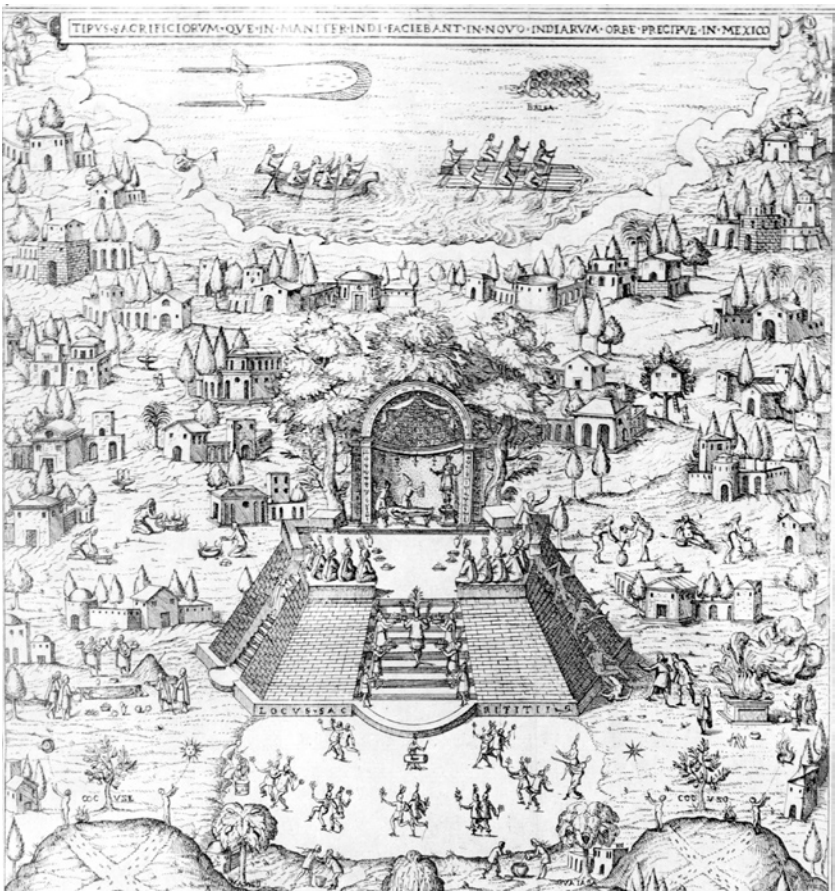

Figure 1. Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica christiana* (1579). Aztec human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism. (Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

seeds which were said to be the "flesh of god."[31] Fray Diego Durán describes another communion day, a springtime feast in honor of the deity Huitzilopochtli, the god of war. After the blood of the sacrificial victims had been smeared on the lintel and doorposts of the temple, it was sprinkled on the dough-man (*tzoalli*) that represented the deity's flesh and bones.[32]

[31] Sahagún, *General History*, 2: 155–156.

[32] Sahagún, *General History*, 2: 52, mentions a hyssop that was inserted into the extracted heart and used for sprinkling the blood.

This miniature bread-god was vested in precious robes and carried around in procession (like *Corpus Christi*). The *tzoalli* was then cut into pieces, distributed, and eaten by the nobility, temple priests, and a select group of young men. It was held in great reverence and awe, and was even carried to the sick (like Viaticum).[33] Durán's summation is typical of missionary attitudes toward pre-Hispanic religion:

> The people claimed that they had eaten the flesh and bones of the gods, though they were unworthy . . . Let the reader note how cleverly this diabolical rite imitates that of our holy Church, which orders us to receive the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ at Eastertide. Furthermore, this feast fell on the tenth of April, that is, around Easter . . . From these things two observations can be made: either our holy Christian religion was earlier known in this land; or the devil, our cursed adversary, forced the Indians to imitate the ceremonies of the Catholic religion in his own service and cult.[34]

For the Aztecs, both forms of communion were *teotlaqualli*, the "divine food" or "food of god."[35] Yet, when it came time to compose Christian eucharistic hymns for the Aztec converts, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún simply recycled the same word *teotlaqualli* for Holy Communion in his Nahuatl-language songbook, the *Psalmodia Christiana*.[36] In this way something of the old meaning was transferred to the new sacrament.

Communion: The Reward of Conversion

An insight into Christian missionary thought and practice is offered to us by another of Diego Valadés's illustrations (Fig. 2). The engraving depicts an idealized conversion center, an outdoor atrium, wherein Valadés presents his Franciscan confreres as transporting the church to the New World, and in which all the sacraments are being administered simultaneously. Baptism was, of course, the primary sacrament of the evangelization and the one that most preoccupied the friars' attention. Because of

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[33] José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590), bk. 5, chap. 24; and Osvaldo Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2004), p. 156.

[34] Diego Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites of the Ancient Calendar* (Norman, OK, 1971), pp. 94–95.

[35] Durán, *Book of the Gods*, p. 115.

[36] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Psalmodia Christiana y sermonario de los sanctos del año en lengua mexicana*, ed. José Luis Suárez Roca (León, 1999), p. xxxvii.

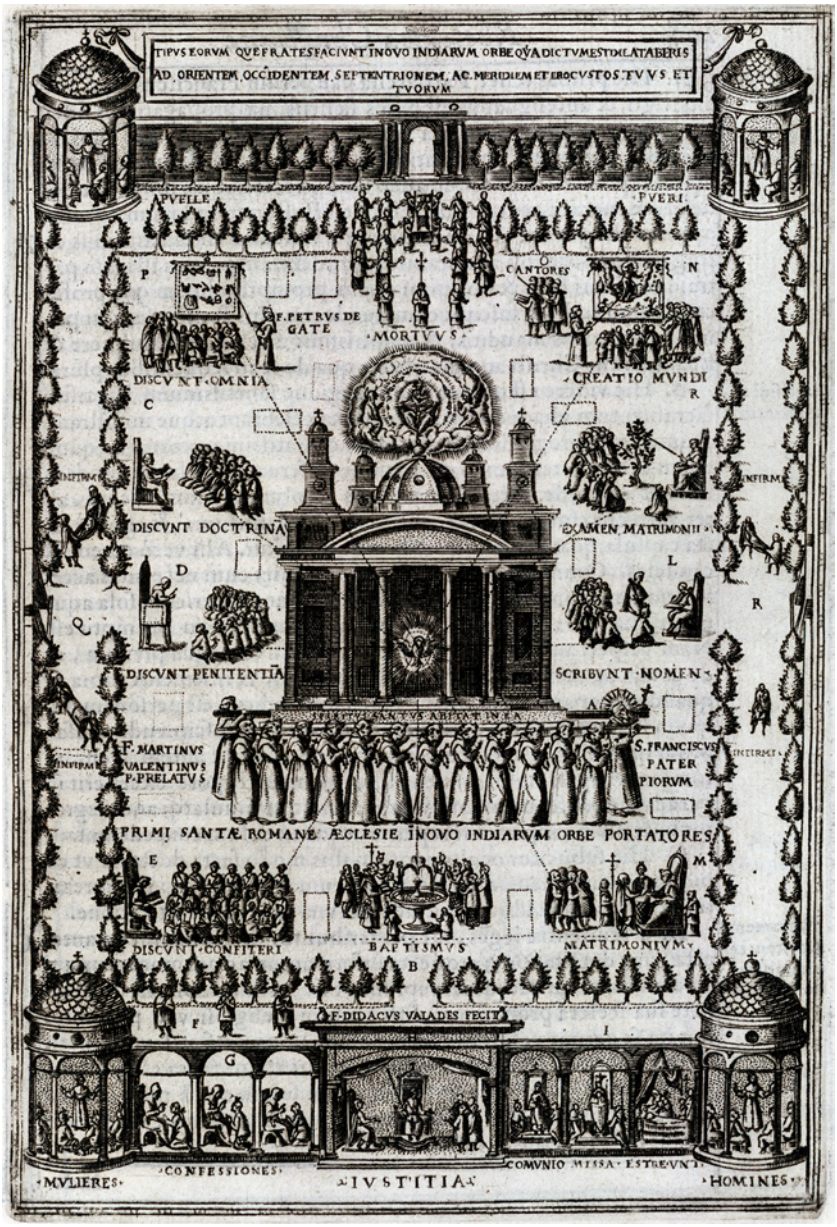

Figure 2. Valadés, *Rhetorica christiana*. Idealized Franciscan conversion center/atrium.

Figure 3. Detail of Figure 2. Sacramental portico.

the problems that Christian baptism caused with polygamous practices, matrimony was a close second.

At the lower right, the Latin words *COMUNIO*, *MISSA* and *ESTRE(MA) UN(C)T(IO)* illustrate scenes in a sacramental portico (Fig. 3). Valadés simply states that "here the holy sacrifice of the Mass is celebrated and likewise communion and Extreme Unction are administered with the veneration and solemnity that is due them."[37] Note that, because Extreme Unction is usually coupled with receiving the Eucharist as Viaticum, it is placed here together with the Mass.[38] We also notice here that communion has been separated from the celebration of the Mass by being given its own niche as an object to be gazed at and adored, more than received. Since the high Middle Ages, European spirituality had been placing a greater importance on the devotion to the reserved sacrament than on its actual reception. It is not surprising that, at a time when the most pious Spaniard only rarely took communion, perhaps once a year, and when the bishops of New Spain had to mandate that even those in Minor Orders receive at least four times a year, the administration of the Eucharist to the Indians would have been viewed with misgivings.[39]

The very terminology for the sacrament of the altar implied a certain ambivalence regarding offering it to new converts. The Eucharist was commonly known under the Spanish words *don* (gift), *manjar* (delicacy), *sacrificio* (sacrifice), *comunión* (communion), and *missa* (Mass). The idea of a

[37] Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana ad concionandi, et orandi usum acommodata* (Perugia, 1579), p. 219.

[38] Jacob Baumgartner, *Mission und Liturgie in Mexiko*, 2 vols. (Schröneck-Breckenried, 1972), 1: 259–263.

[39] See the decree of the First Provincial Council (1555) in Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, *Concilios Provinciales primero y segundo* (Mexico City, 1769), p. 122.

gift or delicacy, of course, was problematic because it implied readiness to accept such an awesome reward; and it engendered heated debate among theologians, canon lawyers, and clergy working in the field.[40] Some were of the opinion that the neophytes could not be admitted to the communion table, that they had been too recently converted, that they were incapable of knowing the value and greatness of the sacrament, and that it should be denied them lest they fall into frequent sacrileges. Others thought that it was impossible to make a general and sweeping decision, and that it was reasonable to give communion to those who requested it. This was thought especially true when Indians had been baptized at an early age, confessed frequently, and were able to distinguish between an unconsecrated *tlaxcalli*[41] (literally, "tortilla") and a consecrated *teotlaxcalli* ("godly tortilla"), and when their confessor was satisfied with their conduct and piety.[42] Fray Motolinía, who favored the second solution, concluded that the priest who refuses communion to a properly disposed Indian is guilty of committing mortal sin. The papal bull *Altitudo divini consilii* and the decisions of a local church council in 1539 supported him and his colleagues.[43] The council had declared that communion "is not given on the basis of merit but rather as remedy and medicine to those who receive it according to Church precepts, because this medicine, which brings aid and relief, is not of less benefit to the weak and the sick than to those who enjoy health and perfection."[44] Nevertheless, misgivings continued throughout the century about offering the sacrament too freely.

In general, the Franciscans only admitted a handful of Indians to communion, and they converted it into a penitential sacrament. They created a Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in which the Indians took communion during Lent. For good or for ill, the Eucharist was thus linked to membership in a particular class of convert, and it became a marker of prestige and social difference. Moreover, there were villages in which many were seen at communion during Lent, but it was rarely administered at all during the rest of the year, except to the sick. This may have to do with the fact that Lent was the principal time of confession, and that

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[40] Pardo, *Origins*, pp. 136–158.

[41] *Tlaxcalli* is the Nahuatl term for flat cornbread; Spaniards gave it the name *tortilla*.

[42] Baumgartner, *Mission und Liturgie*, 1: 231–236. On the neologisms for communion, see David Tavárez, "Naming the Trinity: From Ideologies of Translation to Dialectics of Reception in Colonial Nahuatl Texts," *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, no. 1 (2000): 21–47.

[43] Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley, CA, 1966), p. 122.

[44] Quoted in Pardo, *Origins*, p. 151.

the Indians were never admitted to communion without prior reception of the sacrament of penance.[45]

The Very Real Presence

Distinguishing ordinary bread from the consecrated bread was, of course, a problem for the neophytes. The Franciscan Maturino Gilberti attempted to make the meaning and importance of consecration clear to his flock by having them adore a consecrated host, after which he crushed unconsecrated hosts under foot. On the eve of the communion day, he briefed them in the necessary physical procedures—fasting and conjugal abstinence—practices familiar to them from their pre-Hispanic rites.[46]

The concept of the real presence of Christ in the consecrated host was difficult to communicate, especially when the friars were accustomed to using the scholastic language of "substance" and "accidents," terms that had no meaning whatsoever to the Amerindians. The explanation of "transubstantiation" in Nahuatl catechisms attempted to employ similes and metaphors related to lived experience, but no metaphors were adequate to convey the subtlety of the late medieval theology of a dogma about which even the ordinary Spanish layman might hold heterodox beliefs. Too often the friars were content to use spatial metaphors that did not translate well with the literal-minded Indians. If the friar taught that Christ "descended" from heaven to be "hidden" in the accidents of the host, the astute natives reckoned that Christ could be seen visibly while descending or somewhere inside the bread when broken. They also questioned how the Christian Lord could shrink down to the small size of the host. One cleric resorted to the problematic example of the chicken and the egg, using the metaphor of a fertilized egg in distinction to an unfertilized egg. "The fertilized egg has the same appearance as the egg you eat, but it is not the same because under that white shell is enclosed a living chick. In like manner, you should understand that underneath those accidents [of

[45] Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Códice franciscano, siglo XVI. Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Mexico City, 1941), pp. 90–92; and Pardo, *Origins*, pp. 137–140.

[46] The Aztecs practiced sexual abstinence before self-bleeding. See Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 255.

Figure 4. Feather mosaic, c. 1539. "The Mass of St. Gregory." (Courtesy of the Musée d'Auch, Gers, France)

bread] is the whole Christ."[47] One can only wonder how the analogy was understood by the natives, even the most sophisticated elite!

The primary "proof text" for the real presence seems to a have been a visual one: the "Miraculous Mass of Saint Gregory" during which the cruci-

[47] Mónica Martini, *El indio y los sacramentos en Hispanoamérica colonial* (Buenos Aires, 1993), p. 195.

fied savior and the instruments of his passion were said to have appeared to the pope. This image was popular as mural paintings or, as here, in mosaics made by indigenous artists from exotic bird feathers (Fig. 4).

The Eucharistic Sun

In the following example, a Franciscan friar uses the multivalent metaphors of mirrors and sunlight, metaphors that were of utmost importance in pre-Hispanic belief:

> The food of eternal life is the body of Jesus Christ, called the most Holy Sacrament. It thoroughly signifies his great loving charity; he did not want to have left us any other food but himself in the most holy Sacrament, where he stayed through a heavenly and divine miracle. And even though with our human eyes we see that it appears to be bread, what exists is no longer bread but his very body; it is all just the appearances of bread . . . The [surface] appearances of the bread seem to be broken up and separately set down, but his body is undisturbed, he is perfectly complete everywhere in each one of the parts in the host. It is like a clear and beautiful mirror: if it is quite shattered and broken up into a great many parts, the sun can be seen in many places. But the sun is undisturbed . . . Likewise such is our beloved Savior Jesus Christ in Heaven and in the most holy Sacrament . . .[48]

Mirrors, which in Aztec lore had magical and divine functions, had been made from obsidian, a volcanic glass; they were part of the paraphernalia of human sacrifice. Obsidian mirrors soon became associated with Christ crucified. When imbedded in crosses, they acted as primary ways in which the ancient Aztec and Christian associations of sunlight, sacrifice, blood, and Christ were made tangible[49] (Fig. 5). In Mexico, Christ came to be represented by the mirror on the cross with all the connotations of the new and old religions. Eucharistic hosts carved on these outdoor crosses (Fig. 6) further connected the Eucharist with the bloody sacrifice of Calvary. Most surprising of all, some crosses have a reused *cuauhxicalli* vessel (for heart sacrifices) embedded at the base in the altar-podium, as if to imply that Christ's sacrifice on the "altar of the cross" were the ultimate and only necessary one[50] (Fig. 7).

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[48] Bartolomé de Alva, *A Guide to Confession Large and Small in the Mexican Language, 1634*, ed. Barry Sell and John Frederick Schwaller (Norman, OK, 1999), pp. 147–149.

[49] On Christ and the sun in medieval literature, see Martin Wallraff, *Christus verus sol* (Munster, 2001).

[50] See Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs*, pp. 229–253. Some of the podia are functioning altars with an altarstone.

Figure 5. Franciscan atrial cross with inserted obsidian mirror. (Photo by author)

Figure 6. Detail of an atrial cross with Eucharistic host and chalice. (Photo by author)

Figure 7. Franciscan atrial cross with *cuauhxicalli* vessel (for human hearts) inserted in the altar-base. (Photo by author)

The Dominican friars followed closely the eucharistic practice of the Franciscans. The Dominicans divided their converts into two categories: the first, those receiving permission to take communion whenever they wished, the *comuniotlacatl* ("communion people"); the second, those receiving communion only at Easter, or when gravely ill, and then only with the consent of their confessors.[51]

Of the three orders, the Augustinians were the most open to Indian communion; they linked it to the primary sacrament of baptism. In their instruction to the catechumens they emphasized the need to receive communion on a regular basis.[52] Frequent reception was encouraged by other theologians. In 1588, the Jesuit theologian, José de Acosta, suggested a return to the custom of the early church in which the new Christians

[51] Bartolomé de Alva, *A Guide to Confession*, p. 124.

[52] Pardo, *Origins*, pp. 141–145. *Crónica de la orden de N.P. S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España* [1624] (Mexico City, 1924), p. 110: The Augustinian Juan de Grijalva explains, "Thus I say that in the practice of my order, even on the day of Baptism [the neophytes] are already invited to the [eucharistic] celebration with a sermon to arouse their desire, in which is presented the mystery, the necessity of communion, and its effects and sweetness. Together with this is presented the inner disposition that it is necessary."

received communion immediately after baptism.[53] But frequent communion would have to wait for the reforms of Pius X in the twentieth century.

In practice, the Augustinians selected those ready for communion a week in advance of reception. On the communion day itself, the Indians had to arrive at seven in the morning dressed for a wedding and remain silent during the Mass until the moment of communion, which they were to receive with great piety, some of them crawling to the altar on their knees. Before receiving, they recited a Nahuatl translation of the prayer of Thomas Aquinas, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*; and after Mass his thanksgiving oration, *Gratias tibi ago Domine*.[54]

The celebration of Mass on Sundays represented one of the most important religious practices of the Amerindian neophytes; it was also the principal moment of catechesis for adults and children. The night before, the church stewards reminded their subordinates in the town's barrios to go to bed early; they woke them up at three in the morning. After a head count, all processed to the evangelization center (Fig. 8) singing. Women walked on one side, men on the other. When they arrived in the atrium they remained separated by gender and knelt down to pay homage to the reserved sacrament in the tabernacle. Some tabernacles were located outdoors in the open chapels. The liturgical space had been decorated with tapestries—which were hung from the church battlements and on the portals—and the floor was carpeted with aromatic boughs, flowers, and mint.[55] While the faithful were seated on the ground, they received religious instruction and recited or sang the catechism. Combined with the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in the native vernacular and the preaching, and followed by High Mass in Latin, the service could last from three to six hours. This event, at such an early hour of the morning, also continued the practice of pre-Hispanic times when many ceremonies occurred at night or at dawn.

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[53] José de Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute* [1576], 2 vols. (Madrid, 1984–1987), 1, bk. 6, chap. 9.

[54] Baumgartner, *Mission und Liturgie*, 1: 256. The *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus* begins, "Almighty and ever-lasting God, I approach the sacrament of your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I come sick to the doctor of life, unclean to the fountain of mercy, blind to the radiance of eternal light. . . ." The *Gratias tibi ago Domine* begins, "Lord, Father all-powerful and ever-living God, I thank you, for even though I am a sinner . . . you have fed me with the precious Body and Blood of your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I pray that this Holy Communion may not bring me condemnation and punishment. . . ."

[55] Valadés, *Rhetorica*, p. 513.

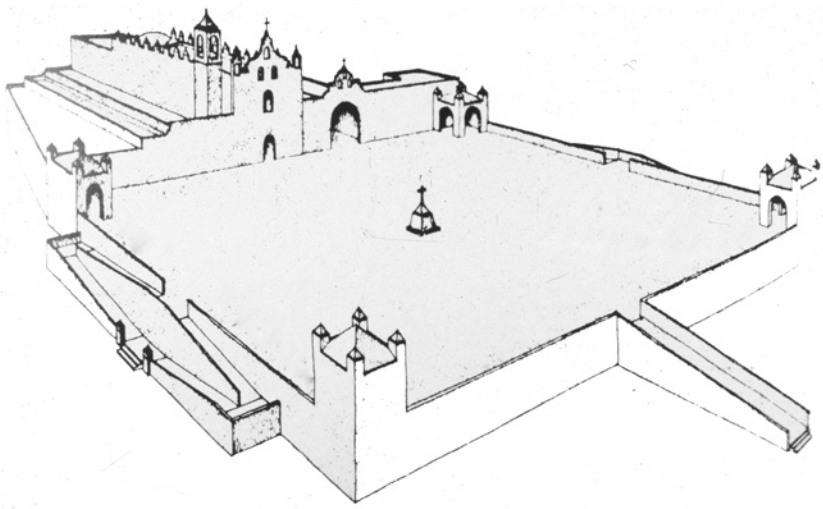

Figure 8. Generic Mexican conversion center with church, friary, atrium, open-air chapel with tabernacle, and four stational chapels. (George Kubler Archives, Yale University)

Mass without Communion

In the vast territory that comprised central Mexico, the friars were clustered in the cities and larger Indian towns, but there were many chapels in remote hamlets where they could only visit sporadically. When there was no priest present, a specially designated member of the lay choir, the *maestro cantor*, conducted an assembly for prayer, the liturgical office of Matins. This was not a novelty. During the thirteenth-century Franciscan mission to Central Asia, the friars had taught native Mongolian boys to do the same during their absence.[56] Furthermore, it appears that in Mexico some laymen even celebrated the so-called "dry Mass."[57]

By dry Mass is meant a celebration of various parts of the Mass, always omitting the Canon, consecration, and communion, but retaining the Our Father, Lamb of God, kiss of peace, and post-communion prayer. Such ceremonies were common onboard ships as a way of satisfying devotion when the celebration of Eucharist was prohibited for fear of spilling the

[56] Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* (New York, 1955), pp. 225–229.
[57] Baumgartner, *Mission und Liturgie*, 1: 231–232, 419.

elements.[58] Even the medieval custom of the Easter Sepulcher for the reserved host was kept, in a fashion. So important was the desire to see and adore something that represented the *corpus Christi* that on Holy Thursday, onboard ship, a liturgical "sepulcher" was constructed on deck for the sake of a procession and pious visits to the eucharistic tomb, even though there was no consecrated bread to reserve therein.[59]

Dry Masses were also celebrated by clerics who found themselves, as frequently in America, in the predicament of lacking wheat bread or wine. In Africa and the Middle East, it was used by priest-captives of Muslims who would not tolerate the presence of wine.[60] These practices are revelatory of a static notion of eucharistic worship at the end of the Middle Ages and one that entered colonial Latin America and colored popular understanding of the body of Christ. The definitive liturgical character of the dry Mass had been given by Johannes Burchard, the master of ceremonies of the Sistine Chapel, in his *Ordo Missae* of 1502, a text that was later incorporated into the ritual book that was used in the New World.[61]

The Franciscan lay-brother, Pedro de Gante even instructed his Indian boys on how to preside at such a service when necessary, but the practice was discouraged.[62] The Mexican church councils of 1555 and 1565 felt that they had to prohibit what Fray Toribio de Motolinía lauded when one day he came upon a remote chapel that had no resident clergy:

> And on this theme I will recount something that I saw that filled me both with laughter and with admiration. Arriving one day at a chapel far from our friary, I discovered that the town had been called together. They had just rung the bells as for Mass and had sung their Christian catechism, and afterwards they sang their Our Father and Hail Mary. Then [the musicians] played an offertory song while everyone prayed in silence. They sang the *Sanctus* and struck their breasts. Then the Indian leader-of-prayer put on the priest's vestments, ascended to the altar, and celebrated a dry Mass, elevating a cross in place of the host.[63]

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[58] Constantino Bayle, *El Culto del Santísimo en Indias* (Madrid, 1951), pp. 23–52.

[59] Bayle, *Culto del Santísimo*, pp. 34–39.

[60] Bayle, *Culto del Santísimo*, p. 37.

[61] Juan Ferrares, *Historia del Misal Romano* (Barcelona, 1929), pp. 377–378. The text was found in Alberto Castellani, *Liber sacerdotalis nuperrime ex libris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae* (Venice, 1523), f. 91v–93r, the primary ritual book used throughout the century.

[62] Rafael García Granados, "Simulacros de misa," in *Excélsior* (Mexico City, 1931), pp. 8–9.

[63] Toribio de Motolinía, *Memoriales: Libro de oro* (Mexico City, 1996), chap. 34; Lorenzana, *Concilios*, pp. 141–142.

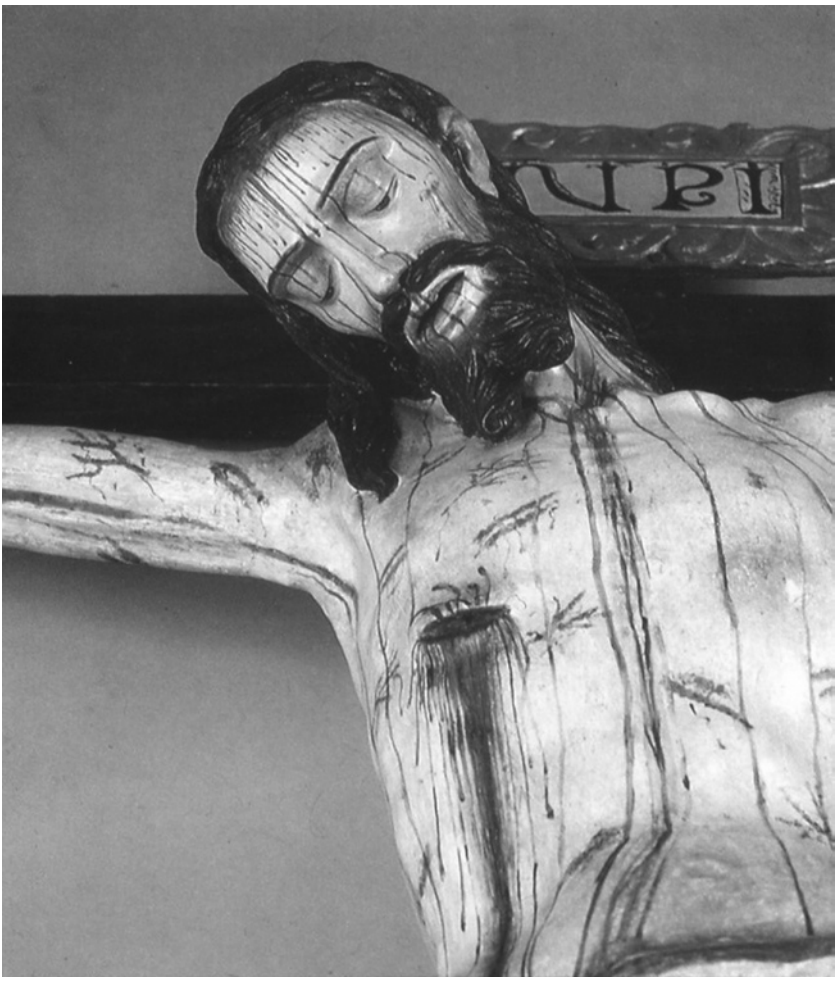

Figure 9. Crucifixion sculpture made from corn husks and corn paste. (Photo by author)

In another version, Motolinía indicates that, before singing their catechism, the Indians had recited the Little Office of the Virgin Mary, then "they struck their breasts before the image of the crucifix, and they told me that they had heard Mass with their souls and with great desire, because they had no priest to say it for them."[64] It is interesting that the sung recitation

[64] Motolinía, *History of the Indians*, pp. 92–93.

of the catechism with the Our Father and Hail Mary acted as a substitute for a Liturgy of the Word, while the most important part of the ritual was the elevation and adoration of a Christ-sculpture, a material body of Christ. Notable is that many of the altar crucifixes in New Spain were actually made out of maize, a lightweight pre-Hispanic technique ideal for life-size processional images (Fig. 9). The pious Indians were probably actually gazing at a "corn-Christ" sculpture, and they may have brought to its veneration all the sacral connotations of the sacred maize food.[65] Communion was, of course, unnecessary in an age when, even at a real Mass, few of the faithful communicated.

The Eucharistic Tortilla

The earliest reference to eucharistic bread in neo-Christian Nahuatl texts appears as the phrase *iztac tlaxcaltzintli*, "little white tortilla," which is, of course, an accurate description of how the communion wafer would have appeared to the neophytes. An anonymous sermon of 1559 uses this term while also assuring the faithful that it is something other than mere bread: "When during Mass it is said: 'Indeed He is the true God,' although it appears as a little white tortilla (*iztac tlaxcaltzintli*), indeed it is *not* a tortilla (*tlaxcalli*); it is the flesh of Our Lord Jesus Christ."

But by the second half of the sixteenth century, translators had created a Nahuatl neologism combining the common root *teo* (divine) with *tlaxcalli*, the flat unleavened Mesoamerican cornbread we know as a tortilla; hence, the new word *teotlaxcalli*, "divine tortilla."[66] A translation of the Nahuatl version of the Lord's Prayer found in a doctrinal catechism reveals the way in which this common indigenous food could be incorporated into Christian spirituality: "Oh our Father, who is in heaven . . . may you give us now our daily *tortillas* that we need . . ."[67]

Moreover, the sacred tortilla itself could carry other religious signification, such as solar symbolism. The sun was, after all, the prime deity of the Aztec pantheon and the one to whom human sacrifices were most often made and to whom human hearts were sent for nourishment via the *cuauhxicalli* vessels. So it was natural for Christ to be reimagined as

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[65] On sculptures made of corn, see Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs*, pp. 213–217.
[66] Tavárez, "Naming the Trinity," p. 24.
[67] Bartolomé de Alva, *A Guide to Confession*, p. 162.

Figure 10. Indian chapel. Mural painting depicting right and wrong worship. (Photo by author)

the resplendent sun of God, especially when the host was displayed for worship or procession in a sunburst monstrance.[68]

In Indian chapels, native artists frequently employed the sun-like Eucharistic tortilla in didactic murals of right and wrong worship (Fig. 10). To the left, the unconverted or backsliding natives raise their hands in adoration of the blood-red idol in the temple of the demonic deity. To the right, in contrast, a Spaniard is piously demonstrating to a native convert how to adore, in a Christian way, a circular object located at the upper right corner. The Indian and Spaniard have their backs to the temple and, metaphorically, to the old religion.[69] Are we viewing a eucharistic host suspended in space with the imprint of the sacred name of Jesus abbreviated as *IHS*? Or is it a solar disc bearing an abbreviation of the words that

[68] Jaime Lara, "The Sacramented Sun: Solar Eucharistic Worship in Colonial Latin America," in *El Cuerpo de Cristo*, ed. Peter Casarella and Raúl Gómez (New York, 1998), pp. 261–291.

[69] Turning one's back to a person or object is, of course, the literal meaning of the word "conversion."

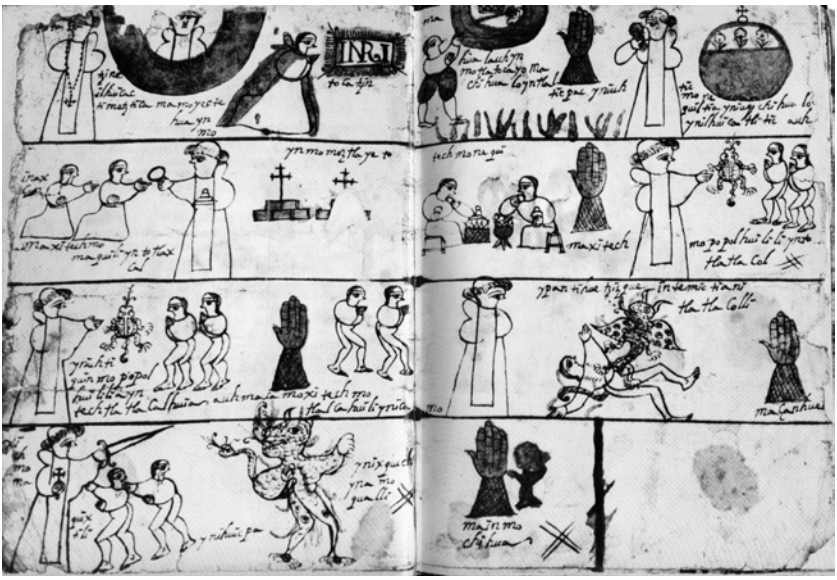

Figure 11. Colonial pictographic catechism, *MS Egerton 2898*. (The British Library. Used with permission)

the Emperor Constantine had seen in the sun promising him victory: *In hoc signo [vinces]*? The image may be deliberately ambivalent to allow either reading, solar or Eucharistic—a religious victory of right worship or a new solar deity, or both simultaneously.

In an age when reformers were downplaying the sacrificial aspect of the Lord's Supper, the missionary friars were insistent on rehabilitating the native notion of sacrifice for the Catholic Mass. A visualization of this attempt is found in a pictographic catechism, again the Lord's Prayer (Fig. 11). In the second line, illustrating "give us this day our daily bread," a friar offers the eucharistic tortilla to a representative Indian couple. In his left hand he holds a stack of tortilla-hosts that he has taken from a stepped altar (*momoxtli*). This altar has all the appearances of an outdoor stone cross on its podium, but it is also meant to resemble an Aztec altar of human sacrifice (*momoxtli*). Thus the notion of *momoxtli* has been recycled both for the Christian cross and for the eucharistic table.[70]

[70] See Uta Berger, *Gebetbücher in mexikanischer Bilderschrift* (Munster, 2002), p. 72. In early dictionaries a *momoxtli* is defined as an altar for idols or demons, or a wayside shrine at the crossroads.

We can now translate the pictographs of this Lord's Prayer as an Aztec Christian might "hear" them; the visual text is actually much richer than the written version. The pictographic writing incorporates the native notion of flowers (*xochitl*) as sacred objects in the Mexica paradise of Tlalocan, and here it is woven into an Aztec-Christian belief in a God who enjoys his kingdom by inhaling the aroma of the flowers.[71] The prayer has been thoroughly inculturated to the Mexica religious imaginary:

> Oh, our Father![72] In heaven, God the Father is found. Noble people worship the Name. Man requests upon earth the kingdom that is in Heaven. On earth, may the Father breathe-in the flowers! In the Christian world, may flowers multiply.
>
> The faithful kneel to receive the sacred tortilla that the Father gives to Christians each day [from the *momoxtli*-altar]. May the faithful have tortillas on their tables.
>
> May the Father point out venial sin to the faithful who come to Him with devotion. May the faithful go with devotion to the Father who looks down on the soul overcome by mortal sin.
>
> May the Father defend and protect the fearful and afflicted faithful with the sword and the cross as they beg protection from the cowardly Evil One who flees. Let there be flowers![73]

Hence, like the other "Indian sacraments," the daily bread of the Eucharist could be assimilated to a native way of thinking, imagining, and valuing.

One final visual example illustrates this. In an Aztec-Christian codex, painted in 1565, the baptized native ruler of the city of Tlatelolco (a suburb of Mexico City) sits in a very European-looking chair, a new symbol of his authority within the Spanish colonial system (Fig. 12). The glyph in front of his mouth indicates that he is speaking, and the turquoise miter he wears alludes to his royal lineage. Behind him stands an Aztec warrior, likewise a member of a royal class, who holds a traditional shield and a European sword; his special status is further indicated by the turquoise feather bonnet hovering above him. In between the two heroic individuals is a church tabernacle whose open doors reveal the reserved Eucharist within. It is stunning and of great consequence that the tabernacle wears a bonnet of iridescent green parrot feathers, a signifier of not only royalty but also solar divinity, spiritual strength, protection, and preciousness—

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[71] See Louise Burkhart, "Flowery Heaven: The Aesthetic of Paradise in Nahuatl Devotional Literature," *Res* 21 (1992): 89–109.

[72] The pictograph of a friar (*padre*) is used here as a homonym for God the Father.

[73] Joaquín Galarza and Aurore Becquelin, *Doctrina christiana* (Paris, 1980), p. 123; and Berger, *Gebetbücher*, pp. 69–73.

Figure 12. *Codex Tlaltelolco*, colonial almanac. Events of 1565 celebrating the donation of a eucharistic tabernacle. (Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico. Used with permission)

all of which have now been applied, by a process of liturgical-theological inculturation, to the new Sun of God in the sacrament. The Christian Eucharist entered into the Aztec religious imaginary with cosmological, regal, and divine connotations. While other dynamics were occurring elsewhere in the Reformation period, in Mesoamerica eucharistic practice even rehabilitated notions of human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism.

PART THREE

SITES OF THE EUCHARIST

SITES OF THE EUCHARIST

Andrew Spicer

Ordinary people saw the theological and liturgical changes associated with the Reformation most clearly in the frequency and the setting for the Eucharist. The centrality of the Mass and its place in regular worship were challenged, resulting in a reconceptualization of the meaning and significance of the Eucharist.[1] Evangelicals rejected the miracle of the medieval Mass and its fundamental doctrines, in particular transubstantiation.[2] These theological shifts had important implications for the patterns of worship Evangelicals adopted and the setting of the Eucharist. For some, the marks of the true Church were the preaching of the Word of God and the administration of the sacraments, baptism and communion.[3] In practice, in some traditions, sermons replaced the Eucharist as the focal point of regular worship. The theological principles therefore had a significant impact on the architectural setting and liturgical arrangements for the celebration of the Lutheran German Mass and the Reformed administration of the Lord's Supper. The increased emphasis on the sacrament of the Mass also resulted in significant alterations to the appearance of Catholic churches in the post-Tridentine era. This essay will therefore examine the impact of the theological and liturgical changes of the early modern period on the sites of the Eucharist.

Late Medieval Churches

The celebration of the Mass lay at the heart of late medieval worship. According to one medieval liturgist, "Of all the mysteries (*sacramenta*) of the Church, all are in agreement that the most important is the Mass

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[1] For the different theologies of the Eucharist, as well as different liturgical practices, see other essays in this volume.

[2] On medieval discussion of transubstantiation, see Gary Macy's contribution to this volume.

[3] See Robert M. Kingdon, "Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Marks of the True Church," in *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History. Essays Presented to George Hunston Williams*, ed. F. Forrester Church and Timothy George (Leiden, 1979), pp. 198–214.

Figure 1. Hans Springinklee, Catholic Priest Administering Communion, from Koberger, *Hortulus Animae*, ca. 1518 (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

celebrated on the most holy altar"[4] (Fig. 1). The parish Mass was celebrated at the high altar every Sunday and on the major feast days of the medieval Church. Although many churches often had side altars for the celebration of votive or private Masses, the high altar at the east end of the chancel was regarded as the most sacred location within the Church.[5] The building itself was regarded as a sacred place that had been set apart from the secular world through a rite of consecration. Through this rite, it was sanctified for religious purposes, particularly the celebration of the Mass.

Guillaume Durand—liturgist, Papal administrator, and bishop of Mende—explained the symbolism and meaning of the Church's rituals concerning the Mass and the sanctity of places of worship in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Although compiled in the late thirteenth century, the *Rationale* remained an important and popular work on Church ritual up until the eve of the Reformation. It stated that a church was consecrated "so that our prayers can be offered to God there" and "the ecclesiastical sacraments administered."[6] Furthermore:

> [The] Mass could only be said—apart from some true necessity—in places consecrated to God, which is to say in sanctuaries consecrated by prayers addressed to God by bishops. It follows that the Mass could not be said in profane locations . . . for it is more saintly not to say or attend Mass in such places.[7]

Within the church itself, the greater holiness and importance of the setting for the Mass were reflected in the separate blessing of the altar as part of the rite of consecration for the whole building. According to Durandus this separate consecration was necessary as this was where the sacrifice of the Mass was performed. The altar was purified with holy water before being anointed in the corners with four crosses being made with holy oil, the insertion of relics, and a further fifth anointed cross made in the center. The ritual concluded with the vesting of the altar and the celebration of the Mass upon it.[8]

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[4] Guilelmus Durandus, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum: The Foundational Symbolism of the Early Church, its Structure, Decoration, Sacraments and Vestments*, trans. Rama Coomaraswamy (Louisville, KY, 2007), p. 233.

[5] John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 66–72.

[6] William Durand, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, trans. Timothy M. Thibodeau (New York, 2007), p. 62.

[7] Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum*, p. 250.

[8] Durand, *Rationale Divinorum*, pp. 77–88; Andrew Spicer, "Consecration and Violation: Preserving the Sacred Landscape in the (Arch)diocese of Cambrai, c. 1550–1570," in

The sanctity of the Mass's setting was emphasized by the measures that were put in place to deal with the desecration of the building or altar. When a church was polluted by blood or semen, the Mass could not be celebrated until the building had been reconciled by a bishop and its sanctity restored. Diocesan statutes reinforced the importance of preserving the sanctity of the church with fines imposed on those who polluted the building and with strict conditions for the building's reconciliation within a set period of time, on pain of excommunication.[9]

These gradations of holiness within the church meant that some parts of the building were regarded as more holy than others. According to the *Rationale divinorum*, the sanctuary where the high altar stood was "a more sacred place than the choir, and the choir is more sacred than the body" of the church.[10] This hierarchy of sanctity was reflected in the restricted access to these distinct parts of the church, so that the priests had access to the altar and the sanctuary whereas the congregation was confined to the nave of the church. It could also be seen in the fabric of the building, with the choir or chancel area usually being much narrower than the nave of the church.

The organization of the church interior reflected this conceptualization of the sanctity of the setting for the Mass. Although the architecture and form of churches varied significantly, there was a compartmentalization of their interiors which restricted access to the more sacred areas. The separation of the chancel or choir from the rest of the late medieval church by a screen (Fig. 2) served to emphasize the importance and exclusivity of this part of the church. The laity was expected to remain in the nave while the ordained clergy celebrated the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist on their behalf at the altar. Although in some parts of Europe it had become more difficult to exclude the laity from the choir or chancel area, the screen nonetheless provided a clear barrier demarcating the separation of spaces.[11] The screens also restricted the visibility of the Mass when

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Foundation, Dedication, and Consecration Rituals in Early Modern Culture, ed. Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven, Intersections Yearbook of Early Modern Studies 25 (Leiden, 2011), pp. 253–274.

[9] Daniel E. Thierry, *Polluting the Sacred. Violence, Faith and the 'Civilizing' Process in Late Medieval England* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 48–54.

[10] Durand, *Rationale Divinorum*, p. 16.

[11] See Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *The Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 622–657; Carol Davidson Cragoe, "Belief and Patronage in the English Parish Church before 1300: Some Evidence from Roods," *Architectural History* 48 (2005): 21–48. See also Francis Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908).

Figure 2. Torbryan, Devon, parish church, chancel screen, ca. 1430 (photo: author). Following the Reformation, the cornice and fan vaulting were removed together with the cross or rood from the central part of the screen. Possibly at the same time, the faces of a number of the saints painted in the lower part of the screen were scratched out and the images whitewashed.

Figure 3. Bamburgh, Northumberland, parish church, squint in the chancel wall with a view towards the high altar (photo: author).

it was celebrated at the high altar, although the tracery of some of these screens or, in other churches, squints (Fig. 3) allowed the congregation to witness the elevation of the host, popularly regarded as the high point of the Mass, which was also signaled by the ringing of bells. The Masses that took place at the side altars were not shut off from the congregation in same way, but curtains served to screen the space where the Mass was celebrated and to demarcate that particular part of the church.

Paintings and other depictions of the Mass, as well as miracles associated with it, provide some insights into the setting of the Eucharist in this period (Fig. 4). The *Miracle of Saint Giles* altarpiece (ca. 1500) records the celebration of the Mass before the shrine of St. Louis, at the high altar of the abbey church of Saint Denis near Paris. The priest is shown at the high point of the Mass, facing the altar, and holding aloft the consecrated host. A number of elements and items within this depiction appear in invento-

Figure 4. The Master of Saint Giles, *The Mass of Saint Giles Altarpiece*, ca. 1500 (photo: © The National Gallery, London).

Figure 5. Anonymous, *Mass of St Gregory the Great*, stained glass roundel produced in Amsterdam or Leiden, ca. 1520 (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

ries of the church's possessions at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[12] The painting emphasizes the sumptuous setting for the Mass, with rich and expensive fabrics being particularly important: an Oriental carpet on the floor, a silk frontal and white cloth covering the altar, a cushion on which the missal rests, the priest's rich vestments, a green curtain on either side. Behind the altar is a retable encrusted with gems and precious stones, with three panels depicting saints and in the center God sitting in judgment holding a sword and a book. Above the retable is an ancient and jewelled cross. The elaborately carved images of angels and saints to

[12] Martin Davis, *Early Netherlandish School* (London, 1968), pp. 109–113.

the right of the altar as well as the shrine in front of it add further to the richness of the setting within the abbey church. The painting therefore provides a sense of the importance and sanctity of the celebration of the Mass. This can be contrasted with the much simpler setting of *The Mass of St. Gregory* (Fig. 5), the work of an early sixteenth-century workshop in the Netherlands. The stone altar is visible as the cloth and vestments do not completely cover it, while the bare wooden floor shows that the altar is raised up on a dais. The altar is again screened by a curtain, but it is unclear whether or not there is an altarpiece hidden behind the miraculous appearance of Christ, affirming the doctrine of transubstantiation. In spite of this more humble setting, the vested altar shielded by a curtain and the priests' robes emphasize the sanctity of the Mass and where it was celebrated.

Reformation and Sacred Space

Protestants rejected the conceptualization of the church as a sacred place and the gradations of holiness within the building. They also dismissed the Catholic rite of consecration through which a church became designated as a place set apart for the worship of God. Martin Luther rejected the rite for having no scriptural authority. It aped the example of the Old Testament prophet Moses although "there is no reason for it at all, except that it was instituted out of stupid imitation, not on the basis of the sure Word of God."[13] Similarly Heinrich Bullinger argued that a church could not be hallowed or consecrated "with the rehearsing of certain words, or making of signs and characters, or with oil, or purging fire."[14]

Protestants also rejected the sense that one place could be any holier than another. Preaching at the inauguration of the new chapel at the castle of Hartenfels, Torgau in 1544, Luther argued:

> This house shall be built and appointed according to this freedom for those who dwell here in this castle and court or any others who desire to come in. Not that we are making a special church of it, as if it were better than other houses where the Word of God is preached. If the occasion should arise that

[13] Luther, *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan et al., 54 vols. (St Louis, 1955–76), 12: 360, hereafter LW.

[14] Heinrich Bullinger, *The Decades of Heinrich Bullinger*, ed. T. Harding (Cambridge, 1849–1852), IV, p. 499.

> the people did not want to or could not assemble, one could just as well preach outside by the fountain [in the courtyard] or somewhere else.[15]

In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, John Calvin stated that places of worship did not

> [by] any secret sanctity of their own make prayers more holy, or cause them to be heard by God. But they [temples] are intended to receive the congregation of believers more conveniently when they gather to pray, to hear the preaching of the Word of God and at the same time to partake of the sacraments . . . But those who suppose that God's ear has been brought closer to them in a temple, or consider their prayers more consecrated in the holiness of the place, are acting in this way according to the stupidity of the Jews and Gentiles. In physically worshipping God, they go against what has been commanded, that, without any consideration of place, we worship God in spirit and in truth.[16]

In spite of this rejection of the medieval rite of consecration and the distinction between one place and another, Evangelicals regarded churches as places where the living Word of God was preached and the sacraments were rightly administered. They were concerned to ensure that there was an appropriate setting for their own administration of the sacrament, and it was convenient for congregations to gather in one particular place to worship together. While rejecting medieval and Catholic doctrines concerning the Eucharist, there was an expectation that the congregation would act with decorum within the building. This sentiment was enshrined in the Second Helvetic Confession of Faith (1566). In the Lutheran and Anglican traditions, a Protestant rite of consecration and inauguration (Fig. 6) gradually developed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[17]

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[15] LW 51:337.

[16] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion: 1536 edition*, trans. F.L. Battles (Grand Rapids, 1986), p. 73.

[17] A. Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1966), p. 289. See also Christian Grosse, "Places of Sanctification: the Liturgical Sacrality of Genevan Reformed Churches, 1535–1566," and " 'What kinde of house a kirk is': Conventicles, Consecrations and the Concept of Sacred Space in post-Reformation Scotland," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 60–103; Andrew Spicer, " 'God will have a house': Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England," and Graeme Murdock, " 'Pure and White': Reformed Space for Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary," in *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 207–250; Vera Isaiasz, "Early Modern Lutheran Churches: Redefining the Boundaries of the Holy and the Profane," in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer (Farnham, 2012), pp. 17–37.

Figure 6. After Johann Georg Bahre, *The Inauguration of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity Regensburg*, ca. 1631 (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum). It depicts the German mass being celebrated at the altar and preaching from the pulpit.

Lutheran Churches

On Christmas Day 1521, Andreas Karlstadt celebrated the Eucharist in Wittenberg without donning vestments and conducting the service in German.[18] He omitted all reference to the sacrifice of the Mass and the elevation of the host; the sacrament was offered in both kinds to the congregation present. In his sermon, Karlstadt argued that it was wrong to restrict the Eucharist to those who had confessed their sins, and the invitation to participate was extended to all at this service. A month later, he issued an order that established communion in both kinds, halted auricular confession, and also considered the setting for the Eucharist by ordering the removal of religious images. The measures Karlstadt introduced during 1521–1522 represented an attempt to translate into actual liturgical practice the theological ideas proposed by Martin Luther during his "captivity" at Wartburg after the Diet of Worms.[19] These measures represented the first attempt to reconfigure the liturgical arrangements and appearance of the place where the Mass was celebrated. Luther rejected these radical measures when he returned to Wittenberg.

Although Karlstadt's changes could be seen as a precursor to other settings of the Eucharist, such as the Anabaptists, the form ultimately adopted by the Lutheran tradition was markedly different. From an early stage, Luther had rejected the medieval notion of the Mass as a sacrifice and emphasized the importance of the preaching of the Gospel. Even as Luther recognized the importance of the rite as being instituted by Christ, the real presence and importance for the congregation gathering to partake in the Lord's Supper,[20] when it came to the setting of the Evangelical Mass, Luther's approach was more conservative than that of Karlstadt and other Reformers, only outlawing practices that were specifically condemned by Scripture. The Lutheran setting for the Eucharist therefore retained a number of elements of medieval religious practice, including the stone altar.[21] In *Concerning the Order of Public Worship* (1523), Luther

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[18] On Karlstadt's celebration of the Eucharist in Wittenberg, see John Rempel's contribution to this volume.

[19] Neil R. Leroux, "Karlstadt's Christag Predig: Prophetic Rhetoric in an 'Evangelical' Mass," *Church History* 72 (2003): 113–116; Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas* (New York, 2011), pp. 27–31.

[20] See Volker Leppin, "Martin Luther's Theology of the Lord's Supper" in this volume.

[21] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London, 1997), pp. 114–19; Bodo Nischan, "Becoming Protestants: Lutheran Altars or Reformed Communion Tables?" in *Worship in Medieval and Early Modern Europe.*

questioned "the external additions of vestments, vessels, candles and palls, of organs and all the music, and of images," but concluded that "they can be tolerated until they can be completely removed."[22] He expressed similar sentiments three years later in his preface to the German Mass:

> We retain the vestments, altar and candles until they are used up or we are pleased to make a change. But we do not oppose anyone who would do otherwise. In the true Mass, however, of real Christians, the altar should not remain where it is, and the priest should always face the people as Christ doubtless did in the Last Supper.[23]

The Lutheran churches therefore retained a number of the fixtures and fittings that were associated with the celebration of the medieval Mass. These traditional arrangements were further emphasized when Luther commented on receiving communion:

> When the mass is being celebrated, those to receive communion should gather together by themselves in one place and in one group. The altar and chancel were invented for this purpose. God does not care where we stand and it adds nothing to our faith.[24]

While Lutherans retained the medieval high altar, measures were taken in some Lutheran states to remove the side altars from churches. The rejection of Masses for the dead and private Masses meant that many of the side altars were rendered superfluous. In some parts of the Empire such as East Frisia, Mecklenburg, and Weimar, the removal of side altars was official policy, but elsewhere the decision was left to the parishes.[25]

As early as the 1520s, Luther had stipulated that pastors should stand behind the altar facing the congregation when they celebrated the Mass. This implied the need for freestanding altars, the rear of the altar not being rendered inaccessible through the existence of an altarpiece (Fig. 7). The woodcut of Luther and Jan Hus dispensing communion to the Elector of Saxony and his family depicts a free-standing altar. The woodcut also reveals the use of ecclesiastical cloths and vestments to cover the altar, on which the artist has symbolically placed a fountain being filled with the blood of Christ (Fig. 8). The altar in the castle chapel at Torgau, which

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Change and Continuity in Religious Practice, ed. Karin Maag and John D. Witvliet (Notre Dame, IN, 2004), p. 96.

[22] LW 53:22.

[23] LW 53:69.

[24] LW 53:33.

[25] Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space. Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe, 1500–2000* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 12.

Figure 7. School of Lucas Cranach, *Martin Luther and Jan Hus Administering the Sacrament to the Electors of Saxony and their Family*, woodcut, early 16th century (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

the Saxon Electors erected, was also initially a freestanding structure; the top of the altar is borne aloft by four carved angels, a design that was followed in other princely chapels. By the seventeenth century, however, an altarpiece had been placed behind the altar at Schloss Hartenfels.[26]

[26] Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London, 1993), p. 40; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German*

Figure 8. Torgau, Schloss Hartenfels, Chapel, Stephen Hermsdorf and Simon Schröter, Altar Table, 1540–44 (photo: author).

Although Karlstadt and his followers attempted to remove religious imagery in the early stages of the Wittenberg Reformation, Luther regarded images as having an important didactic role. In spite of his comments about the pastor facing the congregation during the Mass, medieval altarpieces were retained—although occasionally modified to ensure that they conveyed a Christological message—and new ones commissioned.[27] Luther even argued that depictions of the Last Supper were particularly appropriate for altarpieces as they reflected the sacrament celebrated on the altar below (Fig. 9). Lucas Cranach's altarpiece for the town church in Wittenberg depicted the seated disciples, one of whom is portrayed as Luther, participating at the Last Supper.[28] As these altarpieces prevented

Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520–1580 (Princeton, 1994), pp. 90–92; Nischan, "Becoming Protestants," p. 96.

[27] On Lutheran art, see Birgit Ulrike Münch's contribution to this volume.

[28] LW 13:375; Maria Crăciun, "Iconoclasm and Theology in Reformation Transylvania: The Iconography of the Polyptych of the Church at Biertan," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 95 (2004): 61–97; Maria Crăciun, "Marian Imagery and its Function in the Lutheran Churches of Early Modern Transylvania," in *Lutheran Churches*, pp. 133–64; Nischan,

Figure 9. Wittenberg, Stadtkirche, Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Wittenberg Altarpiece*, 1547, and Hermann Vischer the Elder, Font, 1457 (photo: author).

the Lutheran pastors from celebrating the German Mass facing the congregation, some states erected new altars in front of the original high altar so that the rite was visible.[29]

During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, traditional winged altarpieces gave way to more monumental structures in northern Germany, particularly in parts of Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, and Prussia. The Elector August of Saxony was an early patron of this kind altarpiece. The Dresden *Last Supper Altarpiece* completed by the sculptor Hans Walther during the mid-1570s linked the depiction of the Last Supper with the Passover feast in the predella.[30] In some regions, such as Schleswig-Holstein, the altar structure even included doors on either side through which the communicants symbolically passed, circling the altar between receiving the first Eucharistic element and the next.[31]

Luther observed that changes to the existing arrangements for the Mass could be determined "by actual practice, as long as the Word of God is diligently and faithfully preached in the church." He argued that "the preaching and teaching of God's Word is the most important part of divine service."[32] This emphasis on preaching had an impact on the setting of the Eucharist as in some Lutheran churches there developed an axis which linked or located in close proximity, the pulpit and the altar. This can be seen at the intersection of the two aisles of the L-shaped Lutheran church at Freudenstadt and the intersection of the limbs of Y-shaped Norwegian churches. In more conventional churches, the pulpit and altar were placed in a central position where the whole congregation could see them (Fig. 9).[33] In some regions the baptismal font was also included in this axis, as can be seen in the present arrangement of the much-altered

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"Becoming Protestants," pp. 96–98. See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London, 2004).

[29] Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*, pp. 120–121.

[30] Nischan, "Becoming Protestants," pp. 97–98; Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance*, pp. 101–104.

[31] Matthias Range, "*Wandelabendmahl*: Protestant 'Walking Communion' and its expression in Lutheran Material Culture," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (forthcoming).

[32] LW 53:37, 68.

[33] P.G. Hamberg, *Temples for Protestants: Studies in the Architectural Milieu of the Early Reformed and of the Lutheran Church* (Gothenberg, 2002), pp. 52–60; Øystein Ekroll, "State Church and Church State: Churches and their Interior in Post-Reformation Norway, 1537–1705," in *Lutheran Churches*, p. 287. See also Margit Thøfner, "Framing the Sacred: Lutheran Church Furnishings in the Holy Roman Empire," in *Lutheran Churches*, pp. 97–131.

church interior at Wittenberg, but elsewhere the font remained at the back of the church.[34]

The Augsburg architect Joseph Fürttenbach took the emphasis of the Confession, which had been set in 1577, on a liturgical focal point further, advocating in his *Kirchen-Gebouw* (1649) the ideal setting for Lutheran worship. He proposed that there should be a single liturgical focus at the east end of the building, with the altar, above which in vertical alignment were placed the pulpit and the organ. Other architectural theorists such as Leonard Christoph Sturm also adopted this *Prinzipalstück* arrangement. It can be seen particularly in the Lutheran churches erected in the Empire in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; it was less common in other states.[35]

There were a number of similar features to the setting for the Eucharist across the Lutheran tradition, particularly in the German states and Scandinavia. However, the Lutheran churches erected for immigrant communities did not always reflect the architectural and liturgical concerns of their coreligionists. In England, the Lutheran churches erected in London during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were relatively similar to the Anglican parish churches of the period.[36] The most notable divergence in the Eucharistic setting from that of other Lutheran churches can be seen in the Dutch Republic (Fig. 10). Here the Lutheran churches were much more akin to the Reformed churches, with a pulpit rather than an altar providing the liturgical focal point of the building. Although there was some religious art in these churches, it was more muted than in other Lutheran churches and did not take the form of altarpieces (Fig. 11).The depiction of the Eucharist in the Round Lutheran Church in Amsterdam during the early eighteenth century suggests that a temporary communion table was erected for the service rather than there being a permanent altar.[37]

Although there were some exceptions, the liturgical arrangements for the Eucharist were broadly similar across the Lutheran tradition. How-

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[34] Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen and Hugo Johannsen, "Re-forming the Confessional Space: Early Lutheran Churches in Denmark, c. 1536–1660," in *Lutheran Churches*, p. 271; Ekroll, "State Church and Church State," pp. 301–302, 308; Thøfner, "Framing the Sacred," pp. 113–117.

[35] Emily Fisher Gray, "The Body of the Faithful: Joseph Furttenbach's Lutheran Church Plan," in *The Early Modern Parish Church*, ed. Andrew Spicer (forthcoming); Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, pp. 419–424.

[36] Andrew Spicer, "Lutheran Churches and Confessional Identity," in *Lutheran Churches*, pp. 5–11.

[37] Andrew Spicer, " 'Hic coeli porta est. hic domus ecce dei': Lutheran Churches in the Dutch World, c. 1566–1719," in *Lutheran Churches*, pp. 445–482.

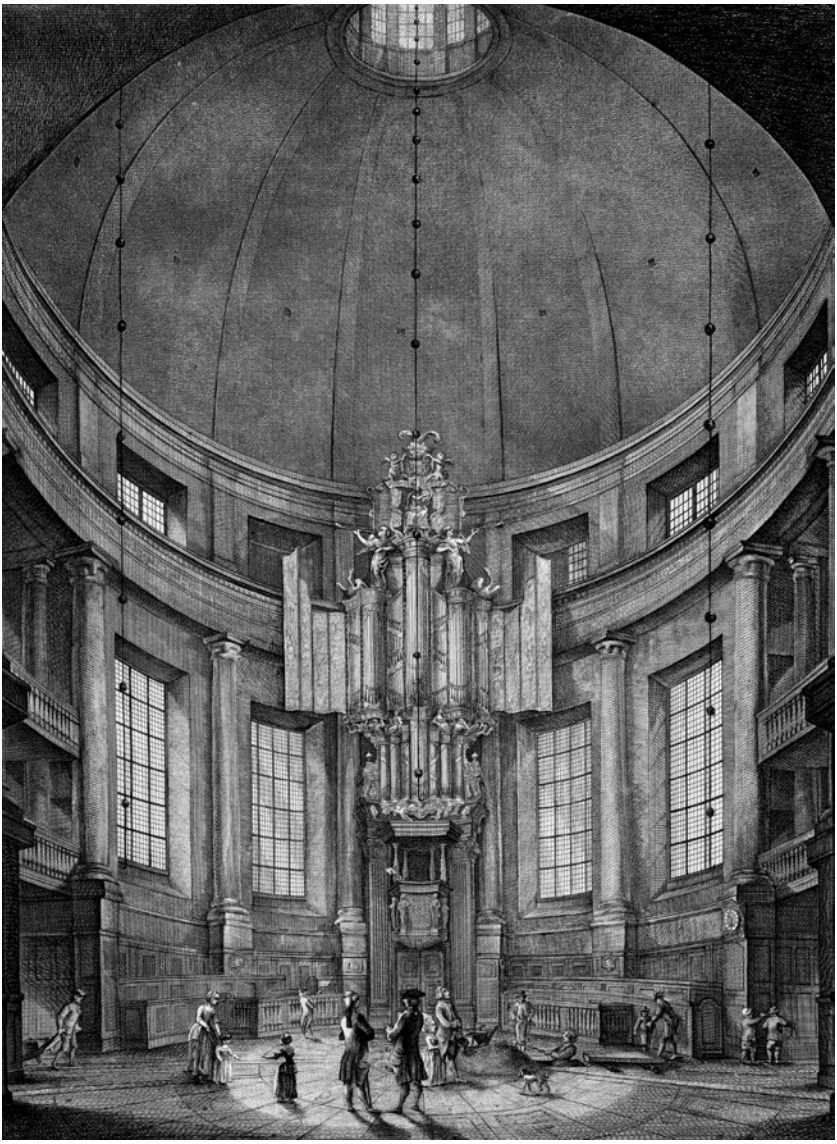

Figure 10. H.P. Schouten, *The Interior of the New Lutheran Church in Amsterdam*, ca. 1770 (photo: author).

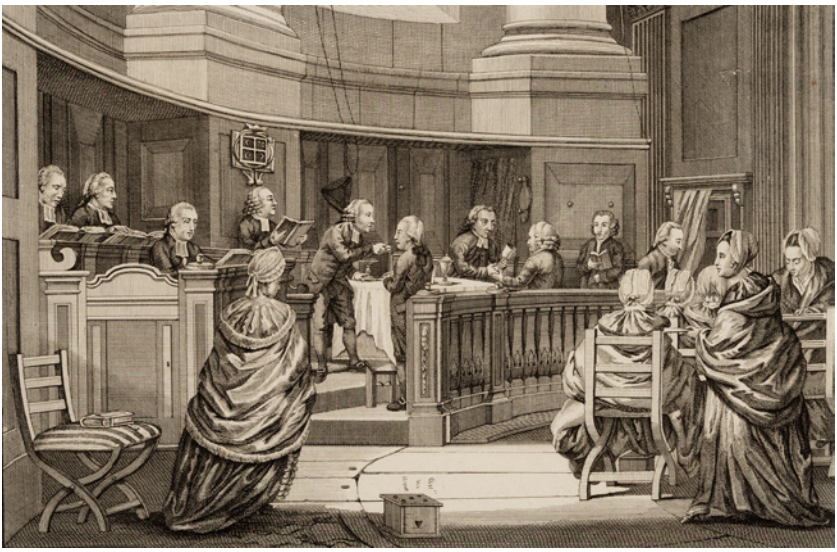

Figure 11. Jacobus van Meurs, *The Lord's Supper in the New Lutheran Church, Amsterdam*, 1785 (photo: Amsterdam City Archives).

ever, the preserving power of Lutheranism—the retention of the altar, the use of vestments, and the presence of religious imagery—meant that there were strong visual parallels with the setting of the late medieval Mass, which occasionally confused visitors to these churches.

Reformed Churches

In August 1566, a wave of iconoclasm spread rapidly across the southern Netherlands, as adherents of the Reformed movement sought to purge churches and the wider landscape of its religious imagery. This assault went far beyond the destruction of crucifixes and the statues of saints, as the iconoclasts sought to eradicate all traces of the Catholic Mass. Altars were overturned, vestments destroyed, and ecclesiastical vessels desecrated. The scale of the iconoclasm and in particular the violent destruction meted out in Antwerp, where the images and altars in the principal church of Our Lady were overturned, attracted international attention.[38]

[38] Alastair Duke, "'Calvinists' and 'Papist Idolatry': The Mentality of the Image-Breakers in 1566," in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Farnham, 2009), pp. 179–197; Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preach-*

Elsewhere in Europe the attempts of the Reformed Church to establish its hegemony were also associated with acts of desecration and the overthrow of the Mass. During the initial stages of the Scottish Reformation, the Lords of Congregation were charged to "cast down the altars and purge the kirk of the monuments of idolatry" and at places such as the abbey of Lindores, the "altars [were] overthrowne, their idols, vestments of idolatry and mass books were burnt."[39] Similarly in France, the religious violence and tensions between the Catholics and the Huguenots included instances of profaning ecclesiastical vessels, as well as seizing and desecrating the host.[40]

These events reflect the extent of the Reformed reaction towards the Catholic Mass and the places where it was celebrated. With the establishment of the Reformed Church in Scotland during the 1560s and in the Dutch Republic in the 1570s, Reformed Christians inherited the former Catholic churches to serve as their places of worship. As part of the adaptation of these buildings to meet their own liturgical needs, any surviving altars were removed. In Edinburgh, it took ten workmen nine days to remove all traces of the altars and the rood screen from the principal church of St. Giles. Many religious fittings and altars had been destroyed in the Dutch Republic during the iconoclasm of 1566 and 1572. Where they remained they were swept away as Reformed worship was established. In Haarlem, for example, no fewer than thirty-three side altars and the High Altar were taken down. These alterations went further than the removal of images and the furnishings associated with Catholic worship. The interiors of these churches were reconfigured so that the liturgical focus was no longer the chancel and the east end of the building but the pulpit in the nave. Located against one of the side walls or a pillar, the pulpit with seating for the congregation arranged around it became the new centre of worship.[41]

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ing and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569 (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 10–12, 20–38. On artistic depictions of the Reformed Eucharist, see Andreas Gormans's contribution to this volume.

[39] David McRoberts, "Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation," in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513–1625*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), pp. 431–432; David Laing, ed., *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1846–1864), 6: 21ff; Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester, 2007), p. 42.

[40] Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 156, 173–174.

[41] Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, pp. 46–48, 121–124.

In some communities, the former choir or east end of the church was given up as a result of this reorganization of the liturgical space. At Bergen-op-Zoom and Den Briel, building projects begun before the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt were abandoned, leaving the congregations occupying just the nave of the church. Similarly, damage resulting from the conflict led communities such as Sloten, Velsen, and Zandvoort in the province of Holland to abandon the east end of the church or apse and worship in the restored nave. A similar pattern can be seen even more clearly in Scotland, such as at Aberdeen cathedral where the choir was allowed to fall into ruins while the local congregation gathered in the nave for worship. In a number of smaller parish churches, the east end of the church was taken over by local landowners to serve as their own private loft or pew from which they and their family could hear the sermon in relative comfort and privacy, often with their own family burial vault below.[42]

Outside the towns, the process of removing all traces of the Mass from the parish churches often proved to be a more protracted process. The nature of the Dutch Reformation meant that although the Reformed Church became the established Church, it was not enjoined on the whole population, in contrast to Scotland. Therefore in some areas, such as Utrecht, the churches remained the responsibility of parish officials who were not members of the Reformed Church. The national synod meeting in The Hague in 1586 continued to call for the removal of superstitious fittings and altars from churches, and the local synods similarly continued to press for changes into the seventeenth century. In parts of Scotland, there was a similar inertia in completing the removal of all traces of the Mass and establishing a new Reformed aesthetic.[43]

While the Reformed Church sought to purge all evidence of the medieval Mass from the buildings they inherited, preaching rather than the administration of Lord's Supper became the focus of the reconfigured churches. Calvin recognized the spiritual importance of the Eucharist; it was the duty of the ministers to "preserve the order of the Lord's Supper, that it may not be profaned through being administered indiscriminately." As a result, it became the consistory's responsibility to exercise religious discipline to ensure that only the worthy were admitted to the Lord's

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[42] Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, pp. 126, 130–132.

[43] Alastair Duke, "The Reformation of the Backwoods: The Struggle for a Calvinist and Presbyterian Church Order in the Countryside of South Holland and Utrecht before 1620," in *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London, 1990), pp. 227, 259; Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, pp. 48, 128–129.

Supper. This meant that it was not feasible for the Eucharist to be administered weekly or even monthly as Calvin desired; ultimately the Genevan city council instituted quarterly services.[44] These measures meant that the sermon rather than the administration of the Lord's Supper became the basis for weekly services. Furthermore in some parts of Europe, the exercise of discipline and the need for a minister to conduct the service meant that some remote Scottish communities could go for several years without the Lord's Supper being held.[45]

The need to control access to the Lord's Supper and its infrequent administration had an impact within the church building. Furthermore as the sacrament was intended to be a reminder of Christ's Last Supper with the disciples before his Crucifixion, the Reformed Churches in the Dutch Republic and Scotland sat at long tables in order to partake in the Eucharist. These tables clearly required a sizeable area in which to be set up. In the large urban churches of the Dutch Republic, the communion tables and benches were erected in the former choir area of the church. In a number of churches, this part of the building remained separated from the crossing and the nave by the retention of the choir screen, such as at Haarlem. The medieval crucifix was removed often to be replaced with text panels painted with the Ten Commandments; similar panels also appeared in the choir, bearing texts relating to the Lord's Supper. At Haarlem, the *Last Supper* panel with its biblical inscription took the place of the original Catholic altarpiece.[46]

In 1634, Sir William Brereton visited the Dutch Republic and recorded his observations about a number of churches and the rites practiced (Fig. 12). At Dordrecht, he noted that the chancel was "never used but to receive the sacrament, which is administered four times a year," and he admired "the curious brass pillars in Harlaim church, which are neatly wrought; they are placed 'twixt the chancel and the body of the church;

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[44] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. J.T. McNeill, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960), 2: 112–115, 117–118, 122; 2: 1232; Harro Höpfl, *The Christian Polity of John Calvin* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 61–63; "Ordonnances ecclésiastiques," in *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève*, ed. J.F. Bergier et al. (Geneva, 1964ff), 1: 9.

[45] George B. Burnet, *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 13–14, 16–17, 120–125.

[46] Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, p. 124; C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer, and W. van Os, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het Protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague, 1984), pp. 280–282; Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 127–141.

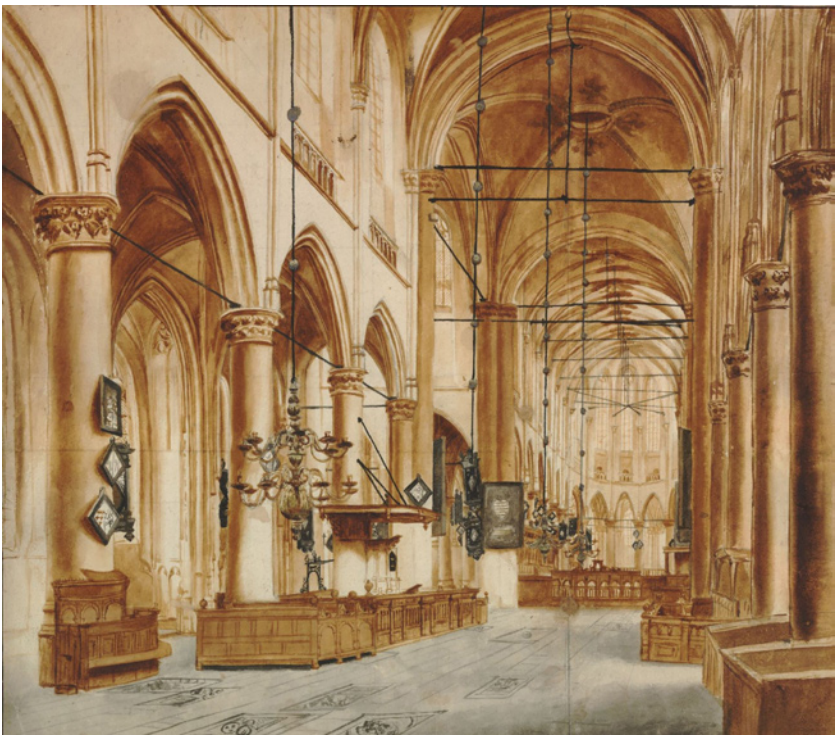

Figure 12. Anonymous, *Interior of the Groote Kerk, Dordrecht*, late seventeenth century (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum). The east end where the Lord's Supper was administered is screened from the nave where the pulpit is the new liturgical focus of the building.

they are forty-six in number."[47] At Leiden, he stumbled upon the Eucharist being administered within the former choir area (or "middle aisle" as Brereton described it) of the church:

> We found them receiving the sacrament at a long table covered with a white cloth, placed lengthways in an aisle which stands over across the church: the men I imagine had all received together at the same place; we only saw women receive sitting; in the middle of whom, on the one side, was placed the minister (the predicant), who after he had consecrated the bread and wine, did administer the same unto those who sat next to him, who conveyed, on both hands the predicant, the bread on plates, and the

[47] Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland*, ed. Edward Hawkins (Chetham Society, 1844), pp. 13, 52.

> wine in cups, to those who sat next unto them: they themselves broke the bread, being cut into long narrow pieces. When all these had received they departed, and others succeeded; but as it seemed unto me, this not administered with such decency and reverence as in England. After all had received, a psalm sung, and then some short prayer read and so concluded. Here in this church all brass pillars 'twixt the middle aisle and the chancel.[48]

The location of the Lord's Supper within the church behind the choir screen emphasized its restriction to the godly members of the community.

It has been argued that in some of the larger Scottish parish churches, communion was also administered in the former choir of the medieval building, such as at Crail (Fife) and Perth. These communion aisles were not always located in the former church choir; in St. Andrews, for example, the south transept of Holy Trinity church had been used for the Lord's Supper since 1580. Where churches had this distinct space for the administration of the Lord's Supper, it was railed off and reserved for the occasions when the service was held. This railing also served to exclude the non-communicants from the service. However, only a limited number of Scottish churches had the space to have a separate communion aisle. Even though the interior of St. Giles's church in Edinburgh was spacious, the town council subdivided it to provide accommodation for worship as well as various aspects of urban government.[49]

In the smaller Scottish churches and also in the Dutch Republic, where there was no specific space for the administration of the Lord's Supper, temporary tables were erected in front of the pulpit (see Figure 2 from Raymond Mentzer's essay in this volume). This central area, a relatively flexible space, was where the women sat on stools during the sermon in Dutch churches. The fixed seating and higher status pews were set back from this area, which meant that it was easy for temporary tables to be erected on the occasions when the Lord's Supper was being administered. By the eighteenth century, this central area of the church had become more congested with seating provided for the sermons which took place more frequently than the administration of the Lord's Supper. This led to the development of special communion pews in front of the pulpit, with

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[48] Brereton, *Travels in Holland*, pp. 45–46.

[49] Burnet, *The Holy Communion*, pp. 26–27; George Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 26, 178–180; Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 102–103; William McMillan, *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550–1638* (London, 1931), pp. 163, 172–174; Swigchem et al., *Een huis voor het Woord*, pp. 212–215; Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, pp. 45, 47–48, 79.

moveable fittings which meant that they could accommodate the faithful participating in the Lord's Supper or be reconfigured into box pews, usually for the poorer members of the congregation.[50]

The temporary arrangement of communion tables in the Dutch and Scottish Reformed churches can be contrasted with the practice in France and the Swiss territories. The Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 stipulate that the "celebration [of the Lord's Supper] should only take place in church" and that "the tables should be beside the pulpit that the mystery be better and more conveniently set forth."[51] Two simple wooden communion tables were erected in the Genevan churches before the pulpit, one from which men would receive the Eucharist and the other for women. These simply decorated tables were part of the liturgical furnishings of the Genevan temples and were not removed or taken down when they were not required for the Eucharist.[52] They were also much smaller, and hence took up less space than those erected in the Dutch and Scottish churches, because the Lord's Supper was received by members of the congregation going up to the table rather than receiving the Eucharistic elements while seated around the table.[53]

Permanent tables were found in other Reformed churches, particularly in the Pays de Vaud and Transylvania. Unlike the two tables in the Genevan temples, there was only one erected in these other churches, perhaps again partly as a result of the spatial limitations of the reconfigured interiors of medieval places of worship. Furthermore these congregations came to use stone communion tables, but there was a clear visual distinction from Catholic altars as many of these tables had a pedestal base. In some instances this was formed from a medieval font, such as at Chavornay in the Pays de Vaud. These communion tables could also be oval or polygonal in shape in order to emphasize further their difference from an altar.[54]

The reconfiguration of existing churches and the construction of new places of worship in the Reformed tradition focused on the demands of

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[50] Hay, *Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches*, pp. 181–183; Stephen Jackson, "Kirk Furnishings: The Liturgical Material Culture of the Scottish Reformation," *Regional Furniture* 21 (2007): 5–6, 17.

[51] J.K.S. Reid, ed., *Calvin: Theological Treatises* (London, 1954), p. 67.

[52] Christian Grosse, *Les Rituels de la Cène. Le culte eucharistique réformé à Genève* (*XVIe–XVIIe siècles*) (Geneva, 2008), pp. 217–219, 265–266.

[53] See Raymond Mentzer's essay in this volume.

[54] Bernard Reymond, *L'architecture religieuse des protestants. Histoire—Caractéristiques—Problèmes actuels* (Geneva, 1996), pp. 32, 164; Marcel Grandjean, *Les Temples Vaudois. L'architecture réformée dans le Pays de Vaud* (*1536–1798*), Bibliothèque historique vaudoise 89 (Lausanne, 1988), pp. 480–489.

preaching and the need to ensure an attentive congregation. This emphasis was furthered by the comparative rarity of the occasions when the Lord's Supper was administered due to the demands of ecclesiastical discipline. The furnishings and setting for the Lord's Supper varied according to whether or not the congregation came forward to receive communion in the Genevan manner or sat around a temporary table erected in the body of the church as in the Netherlands and Scotland. Communion tables provided a permanent reminder of the sacrament which was perhaps lacking from the more temporary arrangements in other Reformed Churches.

Anglican Churches

In *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700*, Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke provide a comprehensive assessment of the changes that took place to the sites of the Eucharist in England during the early modern period. Their analysis draws upon the changing pattern of English religious practice and theology, and examines the impact this had upon the furnishings and liturgical arrangements for communion.[55] This section therefore provides only a brief overview of the changes that took place within English parish churches.

During Edward VI's reign, the liturgical arrangements for the celebration of the Eucharist were defined by the prayer books issued in 1549 and 1552, although the actual setting of the rite appears to have been relatively ambiguous. In a Lenten sermon in 1550, Bishop John Hooper called for a radical rearrangement of the church so as to ensure that the communion service would be audible and visible to the whole congregation. He proposed that the chancels should be closed off and the services conducted in the nave. Although his suggestion to abandon the chancels was not taken up, in his own diocese Hooper ordered the removal of the screens that had compartmentalized medieval churches.[56] One significant alteration to the setting was the removal of the stone altars at the east end of the church

[55] Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Worship, 1547–c. 1700* (Oxford, 2007). See also Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 21–35. On Anglican eucharistic theology and liturgical practice, see James Turrell's contributions to this volume.

[56] G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship. An Inquiry into the arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to the present day* (London, 1948), pp. 24–25.

and their replacement with communion tables. Bishops at first acted on their own initiative, but in November 1550 the Privy Council ordered the replacement of altars with communion tables. Initially, they remained in the chancel area of the church but their orientation could vary. The communion table might be placed lengthwise on a north-south axis (akin to the medieval altar) or on an east-west axis described as table-wise. The situation was clarified in the 1552 prayer book, which ordered that the minister should stand at the north side of the communion table which was placed table-wise "in the body of the churche, or in the chauncell."[57]

Although the Edwardian reforms were halted by the accession of Mary and the restoration of the Catholic Mass, their legacy can be seen in aspects of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement of 1559. The Edwardian rubric concerning where the minister should stand was incorporated into the new prayer book. The royal injunctions ordered the replacement of altars with communion tables, which were to be stored at the east end of the church in the same location as the medieval altars, but moved to a more convenient location in the chancel for the administration of the Eucharist. The combination of the surviving 1552 rubric and the inconvenience of moving the table every time communion was held meant that from the 1570s the injunction was widely flouted. The injunctions and other measures maintained the chancel as a separate part of the church. Although rood lofts were to be removed, a screen was to be maintained (Fig. 2), and the Queen ordered that chancels should not be leveled, where the steps up to them survived. This continued distinction contributed to the setting of the Eucharist coming to be described as "a communion room." In some instances, the communion table was surrounded by seating more suggestive of Reformed eucharistic practice than the official policy of the English Church—that the sacrament should be received kneeling. Examples of these communion rooms survived in churches such as Deerhust and Hailes, where the seating partially survives (Fig. 13), Gloucestershire, and Langley, Shropshire into the nineteenth century.[58]

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, concern grew about the state of repair of places of worship and in particular reports that chancels had become "greatly decayed." In the early seventeenth century this led to a number of campaigns by parishes to not only repair but also beautify their churches, particularly in London. This included the provision of new

[57] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 19–26.
[58] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 31–35, 39–40, 51–61.

Figure 13. Hailes, Gloucestershire, parish church, chancel and surviving seating (photo: author). Until the nineteenth century, a communion table stood orientated "table-wise" in the centre.

furnishings, including communion tables, although it seems that the liturgical arrangements for the Eucharist during the Jacobean era continued the established practice of receiving communion either kneeling or seated around the table. The introduction of communion rails may have been intended to encourage kneeling to receive the sacrament, but could also have just been a practical consideration to ensure a more orderly distribution and to protect the communion table.[59]

Some churchmen during James's reign, such as Lancelot Andrewes and Richard Neile, moved to alter the setting for the Eucharist. Under the influence of this group, whom historians describe as avant-garde conformists, there were some initiatives to re-erect the communion tables altarwise at the east end of the church. Although the communion tables were moved at Durham and Gloucester cathedrals in 1617 and subsequently in some of the Norwich parish churches, not until the later 1620s and the

[59] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 90–110.

accession of Charles I, did this policy gain some momentum through local initiatives and the policies of particular bishops. However, the erection of communion tables orientated altarwise at the east end of the chancel and protected by a rail proved to be controversial. One of the highest profile disputes over the positioning of the communion table took place at St. Gregory-by-St. Paul's in London and resulted in a court case heard by the Privy Council in 1633. William Laud, who was translated from the diocese of London to Canterbury in September 1633, took an active role in the dispute. Although not an unequivocal success for Laud, the case upheld the repositioning of the communion table altarwise at the east end. During the mid-1630s, bishops across the country implemented this new liturgical setting for the Eucharist and the metropolitan visitations undertaken in Archbishop Laud's name enforced it. It was also accompanied by attempts to restore the importance of the chancel by ordering the removal of seating from this area of parish churches and cathedrals.[60] This "Laudian" policy was not confined to England. There were even attempts by some Scottish bishops to introduce similar arrangements north of the border, the private chapel erected by Archbishop Spottiswoode at Dairsie in Fife being the principal example.[61]

The Long Parliament condemned this setting for the Eucharist, declaring the canons of 1640, which had retrospectively legalized the railed altar at the east end, illegal. Altars and communion rails were overturned during the iconoclasm of the 1640s which sought to remove the innovations of the late 1620s and 1630s as well as religious imagery that had survived the Reformation. The ruthlessly methodical William Dowsing undertook this in the East Anglian counties, keeping a journal of his destruction.[62] The Prayer Book was replaced by the *Directory for Publique Worship of God* (1644), which was introduced in not only England and Wales but also Scotland. It ordered that the Eucharist should be held at a "Table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the communicants may orderly sit about it."[63] In some churches this led to the communion table (Fig. 14) being returned to the centre of the chancel orientated

[60] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 119–22, 176–226.

[61] Spicer, *Calvinist Churches*, pp. 71–72.

[62] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 274–280; Trevor Cooper, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2001). See also Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003).

[63] *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1644), pp. 50–51.

Figure 14. Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland, Holy Trinity parish church, mid-seventeenth century communion table (photo: author). The church was one of the few erected during the Interregnum.

lengthwise. Communion tables were quietly put away in other parishes, where communities were unwilling to submit to the religious discipline which restricted access to the Lord's Table and, as a result, the Eucharist fell into abeyance. Actual religious practice also seems to have varied, as some ministers defied the government and continued to use the prayer book rather than the *Directory* and in some parishes the communicants knelt rather than sat.[64]

Following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the liturgical arrangements of the mid-seventeenth century were rescinded and there was a return to the earlier setting for communion. This was a gradual process, but the rebuilding of city churches in the wake of the Great Fire of London (1666) provided an added impetus for the erection of railed altars at the east end. This arrangement was adopted in the refurbishment of

[64] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 280–284.

Figure 15. Frederick Hendrik van Hove, Frontispiece to Lancelot Addison, *An Introduction to the Sacrament* (London, 1682) (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

churches outside the capital, as well as in some of the colonial churches of North America, although not without some opposition[65] (Fig. 15). The high quality furnishings in the "London style" can be seen in the depiction

[65] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 305–352. See Louis P. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness. Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2008), pp. 87–89.

of the Eucharist from *The Introduction to the Sacrament*, which is reminiscent of the setting in churches designed by Wren and others during this period. Above the altar can be seen the framed board of the Ten Commandments, with the immediate backdrop being either elaborately carved or an expensive hanging. Displayed on the altar is the new communion plate, including flagons, a standing paten, and a large alms dish. The congregation kneels at a substantial balustrade before the altar to receive the communion. The significance and sanctity of the sacrament is shown by the sunburst above the altar.

These post-Reformation arrangements established the new Anglican setting for the Eucharist after more than a century of religious changes. Associations that reformers feared might be drawn with the medieval Mass meant that the location and orientation of communion tables had been controversial and divisive issues. While there had been attempts to locate the Eucharist much closer to the people, the late seventeenth century saw the communion table placed behind rails at the east end of the church.

Catholic Churches

The Council of Trent upheld the ceremonies, vestments, and outward signs employed in the celebration of the Mass.[66] It asserted furthermore that the Church had

> established certain rites, such as that some parts of the mass should be said in quieter tones and others in louder; and it has provided ceremonial such as symbolic blessings, lights, incense, vestments, and many other rituals of that kind from apostolic order and tradition, by which the majesty of this great sacrifice is enhanced, and the minds of the faithful are aroused by those visible signs of religious devotion to contemplation of the high mysteries hidden in it.[67]

The Council prohibited priests from celebrating the Mass "in private homes and wholly outside a church," but they did not otherwise make any specific decrees concerning the setting of the Mass.[68] Nonetheless,

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[66] Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London, 1990), 2: 693–698. On the Council of Trent and the theology of the Eucharist, see the contribution of Robert J. Daly, S.J. to this volume.

[67] Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2: 734.

[68] Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2: 736–737.

some of the tasks enjoined upon the bishops had implications for where the Mass was celebrated. This included ensuring that people acted with decorum during the service and did not wander around the building chatting, for example, "so that the house of God may truly be called and seen to be a house of prayer."[69] The bishops were also responsible for rooting out any irreverent and superstitious practices that had become associated with the Mass. More generally they were required to ensure that within churches "nothing occurs that is disorderly or arranged in an exaggerated or riotous manner, nothing profane and nothing unseemly, since holiness befits the house of God."[70] These various measures reinforced the sanctity of the setting of the Mass and made it the responsibility of the bishops to uphold it.

In the wake of the Council of Trent, leading churchmen such as Cardinal Alessandro Farnese came under pressure to introduce the new decrees and to inspect the churches and religious foundations for which they were responsible.[71] One of the most assiduous bishops in implementing the Tridentine decrees was Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, who had been actively involved in the final session of the Council, and served as Archbishop of Milan from 1563 to 1584. Following a meeting of the provincial council in 1573, a series of visitations were undertaken to assess the current state of the churches in his archdiocese with a view to establish a set of instructions outlining the appearance and form of the ecclesiastical architecture. The *Instructions on Ecclesiastical Buildings and Furnishings* (*Instructionum fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae*) was published in 1577 and provided detailed instructions on the design, decoration, and spatial arrangements of churches.[72]

The *Instructions* stated that the main chapel and high altar should be "at the head of the church, in a prominent place and opposite the main door: the back of the chapel should be turned towards the east…"[73] It went on to specify:

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[69] Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2: 736.

[70] Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2: 776.

[71] Clare Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale": Allesandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 160–161.

[72] E.C. Voelker, "Borromeo's Influence on Sacred Art and Architecture," in *San Carlo Borromeo. Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Washington DC, 1988), pp. 172–187.

[73] E.C. Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Eccesiasticae, 1577. A Translation with Commentary and Analysis" (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1977), p. 124. An online edition of this translation can be found at http://evelynvoelker.com/.

> This chapel should be vaulted and, moreover, properly ornamented with mosaic work or with some other dignified decoration in painting or construction, corresponding to the style and the type of the church to be built. Its pavement should be made higher than that of the body of the church and should be consistent with the overall design of the church. The steps to go up to the main chapel should be made of marble or of solid stone, or of brickwork in places where stone or marble are not plentiful, and they should be of an uneven number, that is, one, three, five, or more according to the height.[74]

Besides the main chapel, the *Instructions* also gave precise details of the location of the altar, which was to stand within the sanctuary enclosed by railings. This space had to be sufficient to accommodate "the large number of the clergy which on occasion assist at the solemn celebration of the sacrifice of the Mass and of the Divine Offices." The altar itself was to be placed as far from the rails as possible, although not against the back wall, and on a dais reached by three steps.[75] As a result of a provincial decree, "the tabernacle of the most holy Eucharist" was to stand on the altar. This was to be made of "silver or bronze plates which are gilded, or the more costly kinds of marble." It was to be decorated with scenes of Christ's Passion, with further ornamentation in gold, and the figure of the resurrected Christ on the top.[76] The second volume of the *Instructions* provides details about the altar cloths and frontals, candles and candlesticks, as well as the vessels necessary for establishing an appropriate setting for the Mass.

The Council of Trent reasserted the importance of private Masses, which were celebrated for the good of "the faithful who belong to the body of Christ."[77] The *Instructions* also provides for side altars in several locations, including along the north and south walls of the church. It stipulates:

> The chapels should be built equidistant from each other; between one and the other there should be a space wide enough to allow the construction of windows on both sides of each chapel so that there be suitable and abundant light . . .
>
> All of the minor chapels should have the same length, height and width. They should as far as possible be similar in every part and mutually harmonious . . .[78]

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[74] Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones*," p. 125.
[75] Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones*," p. 143.
[76] Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones*," pp. 160–161.
[77] Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2: 734.
[78] Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones*," pp. 176, 177.

The *Instructions* were also concerned to ensure that these side altars should not distract the congregation from the celebration of the Mass at the high altar. The congregation was not to be prevented "from seeing the celebrating priest from almost any part of the church." Furthermore, the side altars should not be located either so that the celebrant had his back to the main altar or too close to "the main chapel that a priest celebrating [Mass] at one altar will be hindered or disturbed by one celebrating at the other."[79]

The setting of the Mass in the *Instructions* reflected changing Catholic religious practice, which encouraged more frequent communion and emphasized the importance of the congregation as participants in the celebration of the Mass. The compartmentalized church interiors of the late medieval period restricted these changes and so there had already been a gradual move towards opening up the building. The renovation of the churches of Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce in Florence, for example, anticipated the principles outlined in the *Instructions*. Furthermore, Italian rood screens constructed in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been designed to allow the congregation a relatively unobstructed view of the main altar.[80] The diffusion of this new style of open screen can be seen in the Italianate *jubés* erected in France during the course of the sixteenth century, such as that erected in the church of St. Etienne-du-Mont, Paris in 1545.[81] The construction of new churches and chapels similarly reflected these new priorities through ensuring the visibility of the high altar while establishing a clear demarcation of the space where the Mass was performed from other parts of the church (Fig. 16). In Milan, Borromeo undertook a number of architectural projects with the architect Pellegrino Tibaldi (also known as Pellegrino Pellegrini), including the

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[79] Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones*," pp. 175, 178.

[80] Marcia B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation. Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce 1565–1577* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 1–4. See also Derek Moore, "Sanmicheli's 'Tornacoro' in Verona Cathedral: A New Drawing and Problems of Interpretation," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44 (1985): 221–232; Robert Sénécal, "Carlo Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae Et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae* and Its Origins in the Rome of His Time," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 241–267; John Alexander, "Shaping Sacred Space in the Sixteenth Century: Design Criteria for the Collegio Borromeo's Chapel," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (2004): 164–179.

[81] Bernard Jestaz, "Le jubé comme un organe de diffusion des formes classiques," in *L'Eglise dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. André Chastel and Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1995), pp. 181–194.

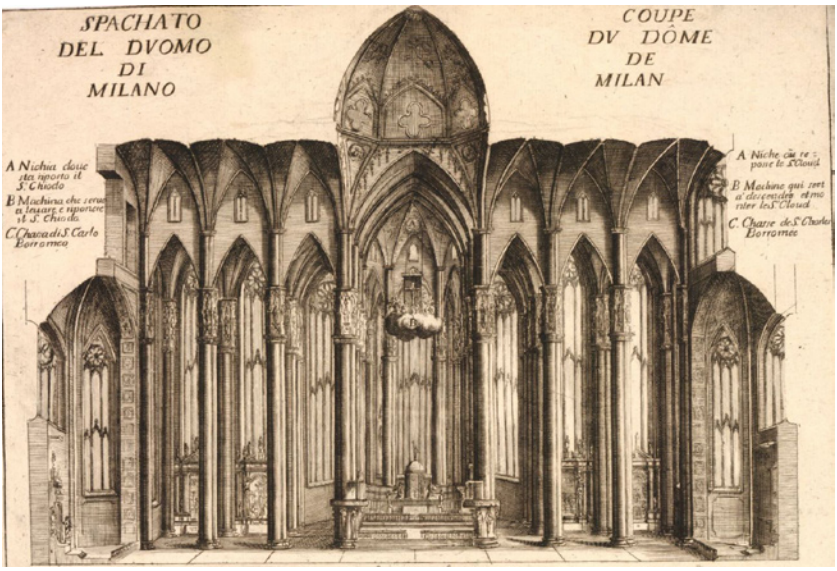

Figure 16. Caietanus le Poer, Cross-section of the East End of Milan Cathedral, detail, ca. 1728 (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

city's cathedral, which reflected these new principles.[82] The *Instructions* were influential in establishing this new form of church interior beyond northern Italy, although they represented essentially a codification of the changes in religious architecture that had been undertaken over the previous decades.[83]

In the wake of the Council of Trent and with the added impetus of the approaching jubilee year of 1575, there was a major program of church building and restoration in Rome. Pope Gregory XIII was responsible for renovating St. John Lateran as part of his policy of encouraging religious devotion and embellishing sites of sacramental observance. The largest and most important church erected in this period was the Gesù, which was built for the Jesuit order and was intended to accommodate large congregations for preaching. Cardinal Farnese financed the church, and as patron he made the major decisions relating to its design and

[82] Rudolf Wittkower, *Gothic versus Classic: Architectural Projects in Seventeenth Century Italy* (London, 1974), pp. 27–28; Alexander, "Shaping Sacred Space," pp. 164–179.

[83] James S. Ackerman, "The Gesù in the Light of Contemporary Church Design," in *Baroque Art. The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York, 1972), pp. 18–20.

Figure 17. Rome, Gèsu, apse and high altar (photo: author). Although its present appearance dates from the nineteenth century, it nonetheless illustrates the commanding architectural setting of the Eucharist.

decoration.[84] It broadly reflected the design principles outlined in the *Instructions*, with its six side chapels flanking the nave and a high altar, visually prominent as one enters the church, located in a deep apse at the east end. While the Jesuits were able to influence the decorative scheme for much of the interior, that of the high altar was determined by the cardinal. Farnese intended the setting for the Mass to be particularly grand and sumptuous (Fig. 17). The apse was to be richly decorated with mosaics and a floor of precious marble was planned; the balustrade demarcating the sanctuary was to be of marble and so was the tabernacle. Work on the grand altarpiece, Girolamo Muziano's *Circumcision*, was completed shortly before the cardinal's death in 1589, which in turn halted the rest of the rich decorative scheme for the high altar.[85] The comparatively simpler program completed by the Jesuits still emphasized the importance of the high altar and the tabernacle as the focal point of the church. Although many scholars reject the notion of a "Jesuit style," the model of the Gèsu was influential in the design of a number of churches constructed in Italy and further afield.

These new churches reflected the Catholic emphasis on the sacrifice of the Mass and its setting. Two of the most important churches erected outside Italy were built for the Jesuits in Munich during the 1580s and 1590s and in Antwerp between 1615 and 1621. Although the architectural design of these churches differed from the Gèsu, with their prominent and visible high altars, subordinate side altars and broad naves for preaching, they had the typical characteristics of a Counter Reformation church. The original iconographic program of the Gèsu influenced the decoration of St. Michael's in Munich, with an artistic scheme that led the worshipper through the church to the monumental high altar at the east end.[86]

Although the interiors of some Italian churches had been remodeled before the Council of Trent to make the Mass more visible to worshipers,

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[84] Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale,"* pp. 175–176, 184–189; Jack Freiburg, "The Lateran Patronage of Gregory XIII and the Holy Year 1575," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991): 66–87; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto, 2003), pp. 191–194.

[85] Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, pp. 193, 217–218, 253–255; Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale,"* pp. 194–196.

[86] Henry Russell Hitchcock, *German Renaissance Architecture* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 203–207; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship. Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton, 2002), pp. 57–101; Piet Lombaerde, ed., "Introduction," in *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands. The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 15–30; A.D. Wright, *The Counter Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 37.

Borromeo's codification of ecclesiastical design in the *Instructions* was still influential in reforming the internal arrangement of churches. With the increased emphasis on the Mass and sacramental devotion, the churches erected in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ensured that the high altar was the climatic and visible focal point of Catholic places of worship.

Conclusion

During the early modern period, the setting for the Eucharist changed dramatically. The Reformation fundamentally challenged the late medieval understanding of the Mass; the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation and of the understanding of the rite as a sacrifice had significant liturgical implications. Although Evangelical confessions regarded the sacrament differently, all recognized its importance as being divinely ordained by Christ even as they stressed the importance of the Word of God. The remodeling of medieval churches for Evangelical worship therefore took account of spatial demands and requirements for preaching as well as the administration of the sacraments. The setting for the Eucharist varied from the permanent Lutheran altar for the German Mass to the more temporary arrangements for the administration of the Lord's Supper in the Reformed Churches of Scotland and the Netherlands, reflecting their differing theologies. Even as Trent decreed the doctrines of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, it also called for a more accessible rite, no longer to be hidden behind screens. The altar was the visible focal point of the new religious architecture of the Counter Reformation. The changed setting of the Eucharist should not be seen in solely Evangelical terms.

PART FOUR

THE ART OF THE LITURGY

A VIEW OF THE EUCHARIST ON THE EVE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

Achim Timmermann

> The body of Christ, according to the mode of existence it has in the sacrament, can be reached neither by sense [*sensus*] nor imagination [*imaginatio*]; it is open only to the intellect [*intellectus*] which may be called a spiritual eye [*oculus spiritualis*].[1]

Even if, as Thomas Aquinas asserts, the substance of the eucharistic Christ could not be detected through physical vision, late medieval artists and their advisors left no stone unturned to suggest that somehow even the spiritual eye—*intellectus*—could see in a vaguely ocular way, or at least be stimulated and exercised through an all-out appeal to the viewer's bodily sense of sight. Focusing on a range of objects and images produced in central and northern Europe between c. 1400 and c. 1530, this essay explores the decidedly visual nature of eucharistic culture on the eve of the Reformation. Divided into two parts, the first dealing with the liturgical stage-management of the Eucharist, the second with the sacrament's iconographic orchestration, this contribution investigates how concepts such as "real presence" or "the spiritual eye" were conveyed through visual means. What kind of artistic strategies helped make the invisible, or at least important aspects thereof, perceptible to the physical eye? How indeed could what Aquinas calls *imaginatio* be gainfully employed to access the higher, unseen mysteries set forth in the Eucharist?

Artists and liturgists had long struggled to bridge the seemingly insurmountable gap between *sensus* and *intellectus*, especially during the fifteenth century. Animated by and benefiting from post-schismatic reforms, this period saw the wide dissemination of new categories of liturgical props designed to make perceptible Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, monstrances and sacrament houses in particular, and of images that examined what ultimately remained unseen, such as the Man of

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[1] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation*, ed. Thomas Gilby, 60 vols. (London & New York, 1963–1976), 3a: 36–37: "corpus Christi, secundum modum essendi quem habet in hoc sacramento, neque sensu neque imaginatione perceptibile est: sed solo intellectu, qui dicitur oculus spiritualis."

Figure 1. Hans Fries, Living Cross, detail of priest celebrating Mass, c. 1510–12, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Fribourg, Switzerland (photo: author).

Sorrows or the Mass of St. Gregory. These artistic innovations are at the heart of this essay.

We begin with a detail of a painting by the Swiss artist Hans Fries, created in c. 1510–1512 (Fig. 1).[2] In it we see a priest consecrating the eucharistic host

[2] Verena Villiger and Alfred A. Schmid, eds., *Hans Fries: Ein Maler an der Zeitenwende* (Munich, 2001), pp. 174–180, no. 12, with further bibliography and figures; see also Achim Timmermann, "The Avenging Crucifix: Some Observations on the Iconography of the Living Cross," *Gesta* 40 (2001): 145.

before an altar bedecked with some of the accoutrements of the Mass: the square white linen cloth of the corporal, a candlestick containing what is likely an elevation candle (lit at the moment of consecration), an open missal, a chalice for the consecrated wine and a paten for the unconsecrated wafer. By the time the panel was commissioned, none of the depicted categories of objects was especially novel. Corporals (from Latin *corpus*, body) and the sacred vessels (*vasa sacra*) of chalice (from Latin *calyx*, cup) and paten (from *patena*, plate or charger) date to the early church, changing little over the centuries,[3] while circular white wheat flour hosts (from *hostia*, sacrificial victim) of the kind shown in the painting were first introduced during the Carolingian period.[4] In the high Middle Ages these wafers began to be stamped with various images of the Savior (visually reinforcing the notion that the consecrated bread truly contained the *corpus Christi*);[5] and the host depicted by Fries reveals the outline of precisely such a figural imprint, here perhaps showing Christ as the Man of Sorrows.

The (Para)liturgical Mise-en-scène: The Retable, the Monstrance, the Sacrament House

Fries's painting was probably commissioned to serve as an altarpiece-retable (from Latin *retrotabularium*, meaning a panel placed at the back of the altar), perhaps for the Chapel of St. Eligius at Cugy (Canton of Fribourg).[6]

The Retable

Retables provided dramatic backdrops for the elevation of the consecrated host and, more generally, for the spectacle of Mass. By the time Fries

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[3] On corporals, see Joseph Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit: Ein Handbuch der Paramentik* (Freiburg i. Br., 1924), pp. 204–209. For chalice-and-paten ensembles, see Joachim Wollasch, "Kelch und Patene als herrscherliche Gaben für das Gedenken," *Mediterraneo, Mezzogiorno, Europa* 2 (2004): 1143–1160. For a range of examples from the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries, see *Goldene Pracht: Mittelalterliche Schatzkunst in Westfalen*, exh. cat. (Münster, 2012).

[4] See Oliver Seifert and Ambrosius Backhaus, eds., *Panis angelorum: Das Brot der Engel; Kulturgeschichte der Hostie* (Ostfildern, 2004).

[5] See Aden Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59–60 (2011): 179–191.

[6] First documented in the late nineteenth century, see Fries, *Hans Fries*, p. 174.

created his painting, they had been in use for well over two centuries.[7] Painted, carved, or made from more precious materials such as chased silver or mother-of-pearl, retables were frequently complex multi-media ensembles. They came in many shapes and sizes: sometimes, as perhaps in Fries' case, as single panels; more often as diptychs and as variously proportioned triptychs (with a single fixed central component or corpus and a set of wings or shutters); and more rarely as massive pentaptychs (featuring a corpus and two pairs of shutters).[8] The iconographic programs of altar retables varied enormously and were not always necessarily calibrated to reflect or gloss on exclusively eucharistic or larger Christological concerns. Some of the most famous retables, such as the colossal painted and sculpted pentapychs of Blaubeuren (1493) and Isenheim (1506–1515), also strongly foreground Mariological or hagiographical issues.[9] In this essay, preference will be given to those works that provided their audiences with views of the Eucharist, both during and outside Mass.

In the following sections, five altar retables are considered in a variety of iconographical contexts (Figs. 2–3, 10, 11, 14, 16). We begin with the Berswordt Triptych, painted in c. 1390 by the Berswordt Master for the Altar of the Holy Cross in the north aisle of the Marienkirche at Dortmund, Westphalia (Figs. 2–3).[10] Equipped with a set of shutters that could be opened and closed according to the cycle of the liturgical calendar, this retable—like others of its kind—produced two iconographical sequences, both of which could have entered into a meaningful visual dialogue with the eucharistic rituals of consecration and elevation.[11] When the Berswordt Triptych was closed, it portrayed in muted polychromy the Annunciation

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[7] The literature on late medieval altarpieces is vast. For a well-balanced collection of essays and further bibliography, see Justin E.A. Kroesen and Victor M. Schmidt, eds., *The Altar and its Environment, 1150–1400* (Turnhout, 2009).

[8] For winged retables (triptychs and pentaptychs) in particular, see most recently Britta Dümpelmann, "Das Flügelretabel als Bildmaschine: Techniken der Wahrnehmungssteuerung im Krakauer Marienaltar," in *Techniken des Bildes*, ed. Martin Schulz (Munich, 2010), pp. 219–241. For late medieval diptychs, see David Ganz, "Weder eins noch zwei: Jan van Eycks 'Madonna in der Kirche' und die Scharnierlogik spämittelalterlicher Diptychen," in *Das Bild im Plural: Mehrteilige Bildformen zwischen Mittelalter und Gegenwart*, ed. David Ganz and Felix Thürlemann (Berlin, 2010), pp. 41–65, with further bibliography.

[9] On these well-researched works, see most recently Brigitte Reinhardt and Stefan Roller, eds., *Michel Erhart & Jörg Syrlin d. Ä.* (Ulm, 2002); Giovanni Reale, *I misteri di Grünewald e dell'altare di Isenheim: una interpretazione storico-ermeneutica* (Milan, 2008).

[10] See Andrea Zupanic, "Der Berswordt-Altar in der Dortmunder Marienkirche," in *Der Berswordt-Meister und die Dortmunder Malerei um 1400*, ed. Andrea Zupanic and Thomas Schilp (Bielefeld, 2002), pp. 69–134, with further literature.

[11] On eucharistic practices, see Isabelle Brian's contribution to this volume.

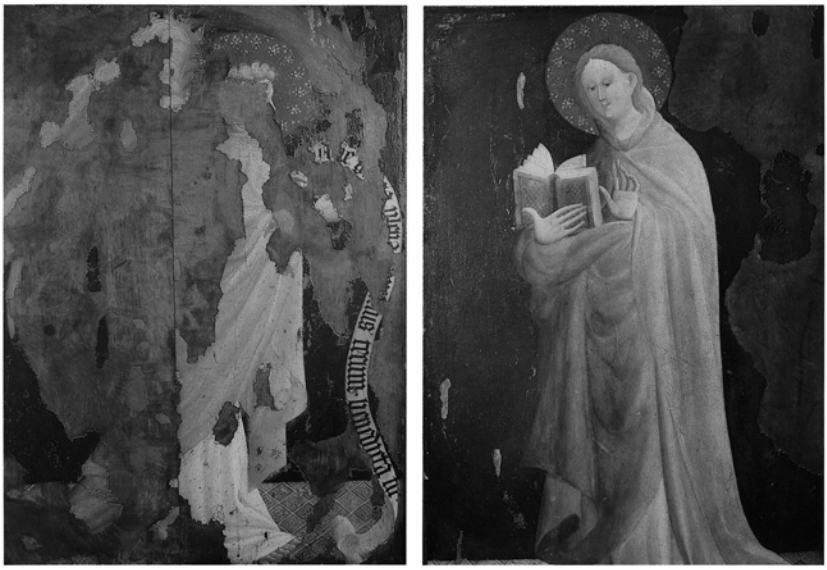

Figure 2. Berswordt Master, Altarpiece of the Holy Cross, exterior, Annunciation, c. 1390, Marienkirche, Dortmund, Germany (photo and montage: author).

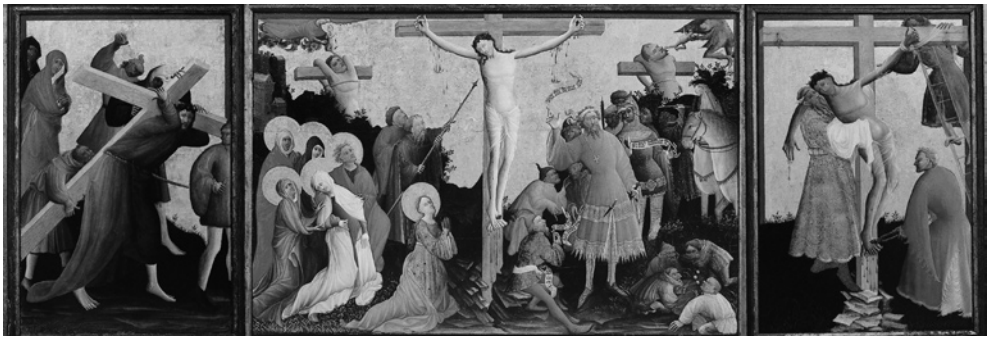

Figure 3. Berswordt Master, Altarpiece of the Holy Cross, interior, Carrying of the Cross, Crucifixion, Deposition (photo and montage: author).

(Luke 1:26–38). Just as the *logos* became incarnate in Mary's womb, so did the words of the officiating priest mark the beginning of Christ's real presence in the consecrated species. A second oscillation between image and gesture came about when the triptych was opened, usually only on higher feast days of the liturgical year. Depicted from left to right are three events from the narrative of the Passion—the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion

with the Piercing of the Side Wound, and the Deposition—all picked out in luminous colors and shown against a tooled, golden background. If the exterior of the altarpiece revolves around the issue of enfleshment, the interior provides a fitting backdrop for the theme of eucharistic sacrifice. Contemporary viewers would have been encouraged to draw parallels between the *elevatio hostiae* and the axial *imago crucifixi* in the center panel, between the metahistorical body of Christ triumphantly raised after consecration, and his historical body martyred and brutally mounted on Calvary.

The Monstrance

If an altarpiece such as the Berswordt Triptych firmly anchored the cult of the Eucharist to a specific site within a church building, another type of object appearing roughly concurrently with the retable—the monstrance—was designed to ensure the mobility (and increased visibility) of the sacrament. While monstrances (from Latin *monstrare*, to display) were often placed upon the altar to make the consecrated species (the wafer in particular) available for sustained visual communion (*manducatio per visum*), both during and outside the Mass, they were also taken out of the church and carried in solemn procession through the late medieval city. The most elaborate procession usually occurred during the Feast of Corpus Christi, celebrated two months after Easter; indeed, the introduction of monstrances was a direct corollary of the promulgation of this feast in 1264 and again in 1317.[12]

Consisting of three parts—the foot, the host compartment, and an ornate crest—the monstrance from the former Cistercian Abbey Church of Sedlec, Bohemia, is fairly typical of this genre of furnishing (Fig. 4). Postdating the Berswordt Triptych by a decade or two, it is made from cast, embossed and gilded silver, and measures just under a meter in height.[13] It is supported by a four-lobed foot engraved with the symbols of the Evangelists and accentuated in the middle by a *nodus* (Latin for "knot"), a feature borrowed from chalices that enabled the monstrance

[12] The oldest surviving monstrance was commissioned in 1286 from a Parisian goldsmith for the Belgian Abbey of Herkenrode (now the Civic Museum, Hasselt). See *Goldene Pracht*, pp. 337–338, no. 177, with fig. For monstrances from the early fourteenth through early sixteenth centuries, see the same publication, pp. 338–49, nos. 178–187.

[13] On this work, see Achim Timmermann, "Monstranz aus Sedletz," in *Karl IV., Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden: Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg, 1310–1437*, ed. Jiří Fajt (Munich and Berlin, 2006), p. 530, with further bibliography.

Figure 4. Anonymous, Prague master, Sedlec Monstrance, c. 1400–10, Parish Church, Sedlec, Czech Republic (photo: author).

to be firmly gripped in procession. The consecrated host was placed into the compartment above the socle zone, held in an upright position by two angelic wings (other, contemporary monstrances had the more traditional crescent-shaped *lunula*) and protected from the elements by a glass or crystal cylinder, here no longer surviving. The facade-like microarchitecture framing the host compartment, with its staggered arrangement of buttresses, pinnacles, baldachins, miniature towers and statuettes, furnished a theatrical, visual and semantic backdrop to the host. The four-sided baldachins on either side of the central tower surmount the figurines of two angels holding the *arma Christi* of lance and sponge, powerful pictograms of Christ's sacrifice on Calvary, while the central tower itself sets the stage for the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion scene. Mary was the patron saint of Sedlec Abbey; more important here, through her body the work of Incarnation was effected. Like the Berswordt Triptych, the Sedlec monstrance dramatizes the tension between God's sacramental body, present in the host transubstantiated, and his human body, whose existential endpoints were the womb of the Virgin and the cross and lance of Calvary.

The Sacrament House

The general design of monstrances and aspects of their iconography are echoed (and physically magnified) in a third type of furnishing, the sacrament house or tabernacle, which, like monstrances, first appeared around 1300. Sacrament houses are intensely visual in nature and rank among the most ostentatious and theatrical monuments ever conceived for the cult of the Eucharist.[14] Concurrent with the introduction of the Feast of Corpus Christi, sacrament houses were fixed shrines for the host found in central Europe's larger churches from the late fourteenth century onward. As their numbers increased, so did their size and complexity, so that by the second half of the fifteenth century they frequently assumed the shape of filigree miniature towers reaching heights of up to 26 meters. Functionally, sacrament houses served the double purpose of safeguarding the consecrated wafer (often contained within a monstrance or pyx) and making it, at least as far as their grilles or curtains would allow, visible for adoration, largely outside Mass. As in the design of monstrances, their sometimes staggeringly complex microarchitectural elements, in particular their soaring superstructures, provided stage-like backdrops for exten-

[14] See Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1270–1600* (Turnhout, 2009), with an appendix of sources and bibliography.

sive eucharistic image programs. The design most commonly associated with this category of church furniture is the multi-tiered miniature tower, represented, *par excellence*, by Adam Kraft's masterpiece at St. Lorenz in Nuremberg (1493–1496).[15] Statistically speaking, however, turriform sacrament houses represent a small fraction of all architectural eucharist shrines commissioned between the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. Instead of focusing on "the great sacrament house,"[16] the following discusses two lesser known sacrament houses—one made for a village church, the other for the city church of a small Imperial Free City.

The sacrament house in the parish church of Venne in Westphalia (c. 1460)[17] presents a facade-like edifice (height 3.65 meters) at once reminiscent of a monstrance (narrow foot, as at Sedlec) and a gatehouse (crenellated superstructure above shrine opening) (Fig. 5). The whole design articulates an iconographical program beginning at foot level with the figure of John the Baptist pointing to the Lamb. Patron saint of the church, John the Baptist also has strong eucharistic connotations, having recognized Christ as the sacrificial lamb who will take away the sins of the world (John 1:29). Echoing the exterior imagery of the Berswordt Triptych, it depicts on either side of the shrine niche the encounter between Gabriel and the Virgin Mary, foretelling the incarnation of the logos and the beginning of the union in Christ of both man and God.[18] The Virgin Mary, having conceived the *logos* incarnate, was also seen as a kind of a sacrament house, "God's tabernacle," as medieval mystical writings called her.[19] We can take this analogy further and regard the Venne sacrament house and others of its kind as a worthy successor to Mary's womb. When the grilled host shrine was unlocked, viewers witnessed a sort of mystical birth; conversely, when the priest opened the shrine to deposit there the consecrated species, it orchestrated, as it were, a second kind of *conceptio*, the first having already been effected at the nearby high altar.[20] This vertical eucharistic narrative continues in the ogee gable above the

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[15] See Johann-Christian Klamt, "Artist and Patron: The Self-Portrait of Adam Kraft on the Sakramentshaus of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg," *Visual Resources* 13 (1998): 393–421.

[16] Timmermann, *Real Presence*, chaps. 3–4.

[17] It is briefly mentioned in Joseph Hertkens, *Die mittelalterlichen Sakraments-Häuschen: Eine kunsthistorische Studie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1907), pp. 37–38.

[18] On the theology of the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, see Gary Macy's contribution to this volume.

[19] For sources, see Timmermann, *Real Presence*, pp. 249–253.

[20] On the theological and iconographical nexus between transubstantiation and the Incarnation, see Timmermann, *Real Presence*, pp. 249–250, with further literature.

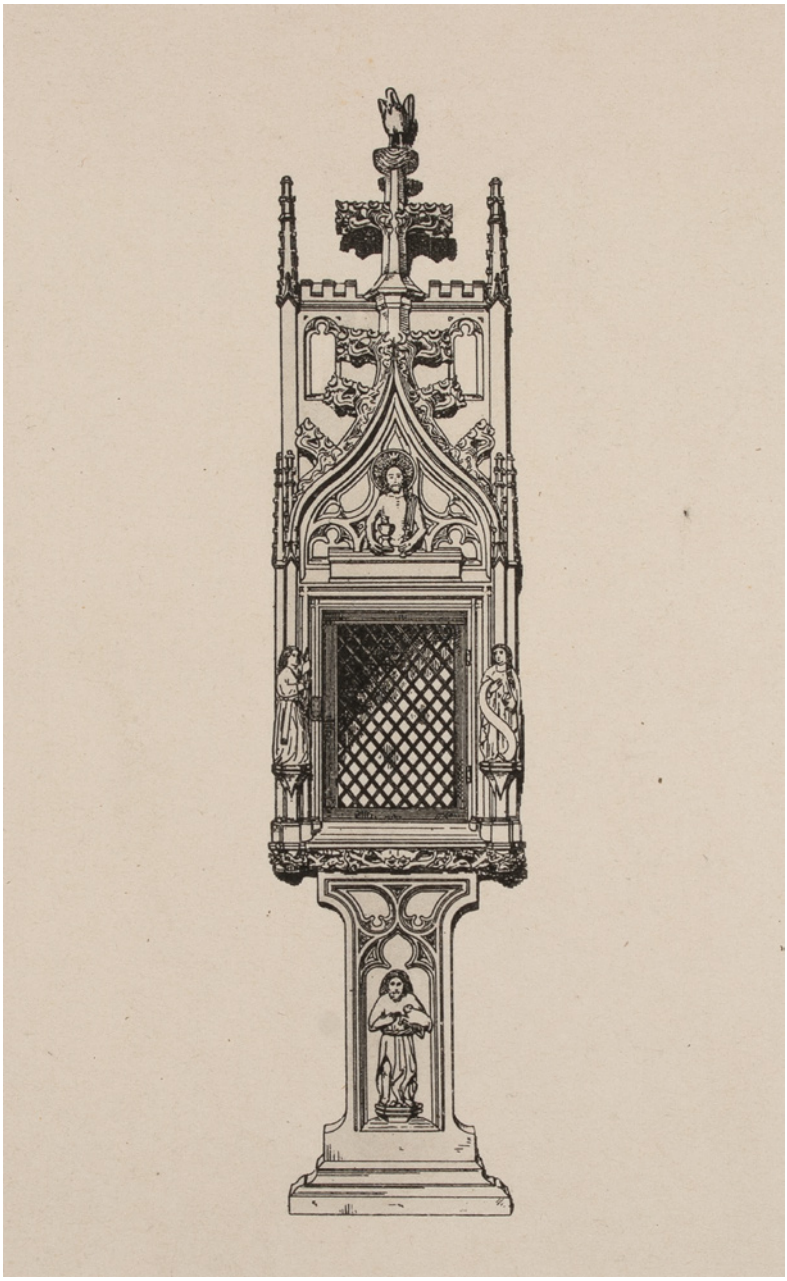

Figure 5. Anonymous, Westphalian master, sacrament house, c. 1460, Parish Church, Venne, Germany. (photo: Joseph Hertkens, *Die mittelalterlichen Sakraments-Häuschen: Eine kunsthistorische Studie* [Frankfurt am Main, 1907], plate V).

shrine, where a half-length Man of Sorrows holding scourge and chalice emerges from his open grave. The iconography translates into visual language the notion of the hypostatic union. While the Annunciation connotes the themes of conception and birth, the presence of the sarcophagus in the following tier casts a shadow onto the host compartment, which is then also connected to the Savior's death and subsequent burial. The combination at Venne of Annunciation and half-length Man of Sorrows thus effectively condensed Christ's life into a powerful micronarrative, at the center of which was the host shrine itself, depending on its "iconographical activation," at once womb or a tomb.

The sacrament house in the Stadtkirche of the former Imperial City of Wimpfen, Swabia, displays the more complex and sophisticated architectural design (Fig. 6).[21] No longer are the architectural components arranged around a simple wall niche; instead, a star-shaped ground plan has produced here a four-cornered, turriform structure of nearly twice the height of the sacrament house at Venne. Festooned with arrays of buttresses, flyers, and pinnacles, this impressive work of microarchitecture occupies a commanding position in the northeast corner of the choir, where it can be accessed via a double set of steps. In outline, the edifice still brings to mind a scaled-up monstrance; this sort of mimesis was probably deliberate since most parishioners at Wimpfen were denied access to the choir itself. They could see from the nave, though, the sacrament house, the very shape of which was a reminder of the comforting presence in this church building of the monstrance containing the real present body of Christ. The sacrament house, made completely from volcanic tufa, was commissioned from one Master Hans for the sum of ten gulden and delivered to the church in 1451. While the donors—presumably members of the city magistrate—were delighted with Meister Hansen's architectural design, they probably also approved of the iconographical program, which some may indeed have vetted beforehand. The imagery is confined here to the curved gables surmounting the two grilled shrine openings. The program is mostly textual. Contained within the two gables are, respectively, the bust figure of an angel and the hand of God (*manus Dei*). Both hold and point to undulating scrolls that are inscribed with a passage from the so-called *Lauda Sion* hymn, composed in about 1264 (perhaps by Thomas Aquinas himself) at the behest of Pope Urban IV to mark the institution of the new Feast of Corpus Christi. In contrast to other sacrament houses,

[21] For a detailed look at this structure, see Timmermann, *Real Presence*, pp. 226–227.

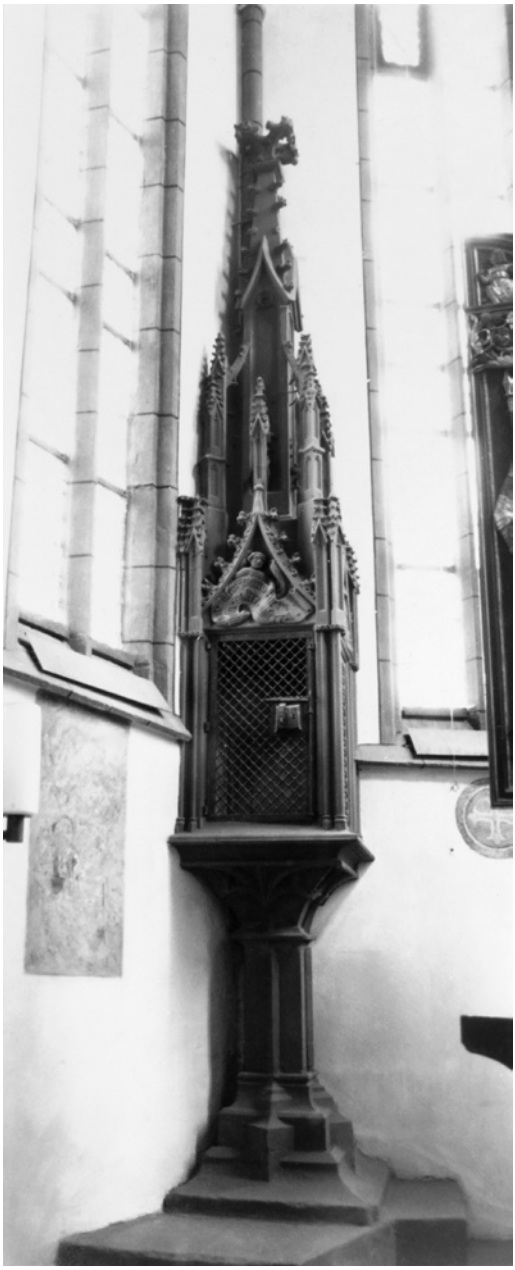

Figure 6. Master Hans, sacrament house, 1451, Stadtkirche, Wimpfen am Berg, Germany (photo: author).

which usually feature the first stanza of the hymn, the work at Wimpfen showcases words of the eleventh stanza. While the angel's banderole begins with the excerpt *bone pastor, panis vere, iesu nostri miserere*,[22] that of the hand of God continues *tu nos pasce, nos tuere: tu nos bona fac videre in terra viventium*.[23] To a privileged viewer performing the *manducatio per visum* in front of the host shrine, the sacrament house would have produced, as it were, a kind of silent music, and resonated, if only in the beholder's mind, with the great Feast of Corpus Christi.

The Iconographic *Mise-en-scène*: The Man of Sorrows, the Mechanized Allegory, and the Mass of St. Gregory

The Berswordt Triptych provides but one example among thousands from the late Middle Ages of the use of visual narratives in the employ of eucharistic instruction. While many of the individual narrative details were indeed of Gothic origin, some of the picture stories themselves have a pedigree that can be traced back to the catacomb paintings and sarcophagus reliefs of the pre-Constantinian era. The true contribution of late medieval artists to the field of sacramental iconography was not so much narratological, but pictogrammatic and allegorical, and we now turn to some of these creations. We begin with the imagery of the Man of Sorrows.

The Man of Sorrows

The Man of Sorrows (in Latin *imago pietatis*, in German *Schmerzensmann*) was the most versatile eucharistic image of the later Middle Ages. His gory body was constantly adapted, manipulated, and added to, and could induce in the viewer emotions of shock and horror and also nourish the desire for a sweet mystical union with Christ. The Man of Sorrows shows Christ in his Passion as a metahistorical figure, isolated from all narrative references to time and place. As Hans Belting has shown, the Man of Sorrows was originally conceived in twelfth-century Byzantium as a liturgical

[22] "Good shepherd, living bread, Jesus have mercy on us." For a detailed analysis of the full Corpus Christi sequence, see Wilhelm Breuer, *Die lateinische Eucharistiedichtung des Mittelalters von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wuppertal, 1970), pp. 282–300.

[23] "Thy life supply, strengthen us, or else we will die: fill us with celestial grace."

icon for Holy Week.[24] Introduced to both Italy and northern Europe in the decades around 1300, the image subsequently acquired a new function as a vehicle for devotions of a strong personal character, particularly under the galvanizing influence of the Franciscan movement and the *devotio moderna*. For a Western viewer, the *imago pietatis* achieved and signified four things in particular. First, because of its strong emotive qualities, it was especially suited to structure the worshiper's mimetic identification and empathy with Christ. Second, because it portrayed the Savior as both living and dead (or, at any rate, as dead, but in an upright position), it compellingly pictorialized the apparent paradox of the hypostatic union. Third, because of its often explicit, violent, and ostentatious corporeality it was a eucharistic (as well as didactic and hortatory) image par excellence, which offered tangible access to the multiple mysteries of Mass. And fourth, because it subsumed in itself the totality of the Passion, it was both all-encompassing and economical, endowing even humbler artistic commissions with heightened significance.

By the second decade of the fourteenth century, two major types of Man of Sorrows had been developed in the West. One was the half-length close-up emerging from his tomb or placed upright before the cross, often with his arms folded across the abdomen, which is also known as the Gregorian Man of Sorrows. It was later related to the famous Byzantine mosaic icon anachronistically associated with Pope Gregory the Great and first displayed in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome around 1385. This type of image was part and parcel of the iconographic culture of the Italian peninsula, though it was equally known north of the Alps (we have, for instance, already come across the Gregorian variety in our discussion of the sacrament house at Venne, Fig. 5). The other type, the northern *Schmerzensmann*, by contrast rendered the Man of Sorrows as a full-length figure at once alive and displaying the wounds that had caused his death on Mount Calvary, thus suggesting that Christ's sufferings are in fact perpetual; hence the Passion is an ongoing process. Fittingly adapted to the cult of the Eucharist, the image of the Man of Sorrows in particular

[24] See Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin, 1981). The literature on the iconography of the Man of Sorrows is considerable. Recent studies include: Joachim Jacoby, "The Image of Pity in the Later Middle Ages: Images, Prayers and Prayer Instructions," *Studi medievali* 46 (2005): 569–605; Michael Camille, "Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, ed. Alasdair A. Macdonald, Bernard Ridderbos, and Rita M. Schlusemann (Groningen, 1998), pp. 183–211.

underwent a range of pictorial, functional, and semantic permutations, as the following two examples suggest.

Conrad von Einbeck's *Schmerzensmann* in the Moritzkirche at Halle, Saxony, astonishes through its sheer physical presence, despite the fact that some of the original polychromy has faded over the centuries (Fig. 7). Carved in 1416, Conrad's Man of Sorrows belongs to a group of remarkable, roughly life-size figures now arranged around the choir area of the church, which also comprises the statue of a Virgin of Sorrows or *Schmerzensmutter*, initially paired with the Man of Sorrows, the statues of Christ at the Flagellation Column (*Christus an der Geißelsäule*) and of the patron saint Maurice, and the bust of the artist himself.[25]

Measuring an impressive 2.4 meters in height, Conrad's *Schmerzensmann* is both man and God, and he suffers from embodying the two natures at once. The thick, heavily tooled and bejeweled nimbus, symbol of his divinity, sits like a millstone upon his sloping shoulders, while his entire body is covered in a mesh of protruding, bluish veins, as if to indicate that he is caught, or entangled, within the net of his own humanity. Most striking of all are the deep holes of his wounds, which are ringed by petals of gravity-defying drops of blood. Particular attention has been given to the clean, mandorla-shaped side wound, toward which his left hand gestures (Fig. 8). Seeping from this aperture is a steady flow of thick, almost coagulated blood that oozes down his right side, over the loincloth, down his right leg, and from there, into a chalice cum host standing beside the right foot. This sculpted stream of blood is unique for two reasons. First, it is the *only* such salvific blood flow that percolates *over and across* Christ's loincloth. In all other representations in medieval art, the blood issuing from the side wound *disappears beneath* the loincloth. Second, by rendering the blood from the *dulce vulnus laterale* visible throughout, Conrad has created a kind of timeline from wound to chalice, from Golgotha to the Eucharist and its liturgy. We can, with our eyes, travel along this timeline, we can move forward to the sacred blood flow inside the chalice, or backward, toward the stunning blood flower beneath Christ's heart, the *fons et origo* of salvation itself.

In all this corporeal drama of Redemption, the *arma Christi* or Instruments of the Passion, loosely framing the body of Christ, almost appear

[25] On the *Schmerzensmann* and the other images of this group, see Michael Stuhr, "Symbol und Ornament in der Schmerzensmanndarstellung des Conrad von Einbeck," in *Skulptur des Mittelalters: Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Ernst Schubert (Weimar, 1987), pp. 243–254, with further literature.

Figure 7. Conrad von Einbeck, Man of Sorrows, 1416, Moritzkirche, Halle, Germany (photo: author).

Figure 8. Conrad von Einbeck, Man of Sorrows, detail of side wound (photo: author).

as an afterthought. With the dice at his feet, the *Schmerzensmann* seems to lean on the lance while holding the limp and dangling scourge with his right hand and keeping nails and whip tucked beneath his left hand and arm. Indeed, the Instruments appear to have been stuck into his hands and underneath his arms, almost like mock-attributes of his royalty. But so weak is this Man of Sorrows, both from his past Passion and from his current exsanguinations, that one wonders just how long the *arma* will stay with him and when they might fall to the ground. The only Passion Instrument not in danger of slipping from the Savior is the *spinea corona*, which is studded here with iron nails and remains firmly lodged on his head. With its circular shape, it provides a morphic parallel to the old-fashioned, decorated halo. In ontological terms, the two objects could be considered as the antitheses of one another, but then again, Christ is both God and man, as Conrad so masterfully shows.

At first sight, the Man of Sorrows on Friedrich Herlin's so-called Straus Epitaph (formerly in Nördlingen's Church of Saint George, now in the city museum there) has little in common with Conrad von Einbeck's

version of the same image (Fig. 9).[26] Painted in c. 1469 at the behest of the patrician Paul Straus, whose surrogate self and coats-of-arms can be seen in the lower left corner, the epitaph depicts Christ in a full frontal and almost symmetrical position, thin, pale, puppet-like, and raising his hands in the ancient *orans* gesture, in part to intercede before God on behalf of the donor. Yet, both versions of the Man of Sorrows demonstrate how—or rather that—the physical body of Christ is perpetually processed into spiritual food for all humankind. At Halle, copious amounts of cruor, initially picked out in bright crimson, connect the Savior's side wound to the chalice of the Eucharist. The chalice reappears at Nördlingen, likewise by Christ's right foot, though it does not catch the flow from the side wound, but receives, respectively, an ear of wheat and a bunch of grapes. Both grow from two heavily laden stalks—one with wheat, the other with grapes—which emerge from the slightly bleeding wounds in Christ's feet and then climb upward (with the exception of the two offshoots above the chalice), to finally pierce the wounds of the Savior's praying hands. Although sacrificed long ago, Christ's body continues to produce the food of salvation. To be more precise, Herlin has represented an intermediate product, because what issues forth from Christ's body is not the Eucharist itself, but the raw ingredients necessary for the making of the (as yet unconsecrated) species. Perhaps to avoid a too literal reading of the image, and to prevent the miraculous from simply becoming ridiculous, the chalice and host are also shown, here just across from the donor. Thus positioned, the Eucharist might have invited a kind of surrogate *adoratio*, not least by the departed Paul Straus himself.

There is a compelling visual logic in Herlin's image. The *corpus Christi*—in the guise of the Man of Sorrows—furnishes the nourishing matter for a grapevine and a stalk of wheat; there follow three steps that are not depicted (harvest, baking of the hosts and making of the wine, consecration); at the end of the process emerges the Eucharist under both kinds. The latter is nothing less than the *corpus Christi* itself, only now it is experienced under different accidents. Herlin's narrative about a body becoming food becoming a body has turned full circle.

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[26] This image is briefly discussed in Caroline Walker Bynum's influential *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1987), fig. 4.

Figure 9. Friedrich Herlin, Straus Epitaph, 1469, Stadtmuseum, Nördlingen, Germany (photo: author).

The Mechanized Allegory

To pictorialize this process and to make it more transparent, late medieval artists and their patrons could draw on other kinds of images as well. I call these images "mechanized allegories," because they show, often with great precision, man-made machines that press, pound, grind, or extract the blood-juice from the body of Christ. In the following section we will take a closer look at three of these strange pictorial inventions in which theology and technology celebrate their unlikely marriage.

The first of these images is known as the Mystic Winepress or Christ in the Winepress (from German *Mystische Kelter; Christus in der Kelter; Kelterchristus*).[27] In its late medieval guise, it usually depicts the Man of Sorrows treading grapes in the vat of a winepress, while the horizontal or diagonal press itself exerts pressure on his own body, such that his body would completely disintegrate and eventually disappear into the pulp-filled vat. Even while the Savior is still pressing and being pressed, the resulting grape juice mingled with Christ's blood already flows from a pipe into a eucharistic chalice. This is a brief description of the "no-frills" version of the image. One typical example of hundreds from the late Middle Ages, on the exterior of a devotional triptych, was painted in the Middle Rhine region sometime during the last quarter of the fifteenth century (Fig. 10).[28] The interior of this small altarpiece shows before a landscape setting and tooled golden sky the consecutive scenes of the Mount of Olives, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection.[29] Christ and his winepress are placed on a narrow, stage-like piece of rock. There is no background, just an opaque blackness that contrasts dramatically with the whiteness of the Savior's flesh and the crimson color of his blood and the trodden grapes. Even a cursory glance at this *Kelterchristus* reveals that beyond having appropriated the non-narrative image of the Man of Sorrows, it also drew upon the narrative episode of the Carrying of the Cross. The

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[27] For Christ in the Winepress, see Horst Wenzel, "Die Ausbreitung des 'logos' als Handwerk: Handschrift, Kelter, Hostienmühle," in *Bilder-Denken: Bildlichkeit und Argumentation*, ed. Barbara Naumann and Edgar Pankow (Munich, 2004), pp. 45–65, esp. pp. 52–58. Still useful is the older study by Alois Thomas, *Die Darstellung Christi in der Kelter: Eine theologische und kulturhistorische Studie, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Volkskunde des Weinbaus*, Forschungen zur Volkskunde 20–21 (Düsseldorf, 1936), which remains the only monograph on this iconography.

[28] It is now in the Mittelrhein-Museum at Koblenz.

[29] For a view of the interior, see Frank Matthias Kammel, ed., *Spiegel der Seligkeit: Privates Bild und Frömmigkeit im Spätmittelalter* (Nuremberg, 2000), pp. 187–188, fig. 24a, with further literature on the triptych.

Figure 10. Anonymous, Middle Rhenish master, triptych, exterior, Mystic Winepress, Mittelrhein-Museum, Koblenz (photo: author).

press is not just a diagonal bar, but his cruciform instrument of death, complete with nails and *titulus*. Another source of inspiration—this time a textual one—is disclosed in the two Latin inscriptions, the first on the scroll that flutters around his body, the second near the chalice at the bottom of the image. The iconography of Christ in the winepress tapped into the material culture of winemaking, but the primary impetus and theological justification came from two prophecies from the Old Testament, which the image translated into visual language. The bottom inscription

thus paraphrases Isaiah *Nam pro te torcularum sole calcavi* (Isaiah 64:3),[30] while the scroll proclaims with Jeremiah *Vide si sit dolor ut dolor meus* (Lamentations 1:12).[31]

By the time the triptych was painted, all of the iconographical ingredients of our *Christus in der Kelter*, both visual and textual, had already been in use and combined in this particular way (though sometimes excluding Jeremiah's prophecy) for well over a century. The origins of the image itself (that is of the visual idea of Christ *in* a *torcular* or winepress) can be traced back even further, to the twelfth century. Most of the early examples come from monasteries or convents; a particularly celebrated case in point is the *Kelterchristus* on fol. 241r in Abbess Herrad von Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum*, created between 1167 and 1185 for her Abbey of Hohenburg in the Alsace.[32] While little distinguishes the *Hortus* winepress from that of the late medieval triptych, other components—such as the notion of Christ as the Man of Sorrows or of the press bar as the cross—are as yet missing. Scholars generally concur that Herrad's *Kelterchristus* and other early examples had originally been designed for the purpose of pedagogical instruction, for instance in the complexities of typology or the mysteries of the work of redemption.[33] Only during the course of the fourteenth century did this mechanized allegory become associated with Passion mysticism, even later still with devotion to the eucharistic *corpus Christi*.

The second type of machine-centered allegory is the Mystic Mill (German *Mystische Mühle*, Latin *mola mystica*).[34] As with the Mystic Winepress, individual elements of this image can be traced back to the high Middle Ages, though the fully-fledged eucharistic allegory only emerged

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[30] "Of course it is for you that have I trodden the winepress alone." Isaiah's text merely reads "Torcular calcavi solus," i.e., "I have trodden the winepress alone."

[31] "And see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow." Note the use of the singular *vide* (instead of the biblical *videte*), which suggests a more intimate viewing experience of the triptych.

[32] The manuscript itself was destroyed during the siege of Strasbourg in 1870, though copies made of both images and text prior to the destruction allow for an at least partial reconstruction, for which see the magisterial edition by Rosalie Green, *Herrad of Hohenbourg: Hortus deliciarum*, 2 vols. (London and Leiden, 1979). For a reproduction of the *Kelterchristus*, see 2: 405.

[33] See Wolfgang Braunfels and Engelbert Kirschbaum, eds., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. (Freiburg i. Br., 1968–1976), vol. 2, cols. 499–500.

[34] So far, the only monograph on this image remains Harald Rye-Clausen, *Die Hostienmühlenbilder im Lichte mittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit* (Stein am Rhein, 1981).

Figure 11. Anonymous, Swabian master, Triptych of the Mystic Mill, interior, central panel with Mystic Mill, c. 1470, Stadtmuseum, Ulm (photo: author).

during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[35] Judging by the number of known surviving examples—less than two dozen—the Mystic Mill was probably never as widespread and popular as its wine-producing counterpart. Briefly, the late medieval Mystic Mill is an allegory of the incarnation of the logos and of its subsequent dissemination through the Eucharist to the ever-expanding Christendom/ body of the faithful. We can see the allegory at work in the central panel of a triptych produced in Swabia in c. 1470 and now in the Ulmer Museum (Fig. 11).[36] Center stage is held by a large, hand-operated mill, into the hopper of which the Four Evangelists, aided by the Virgin Annunciate, pour sacks of grain (the grain being

[35] For some early mill imagery, including an example from the *Hortus deliciarum*, see Braunfels and Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* III, cols 297–299.

[36] When closed, the triptych displays the Last Supper; when opened, the two wings depict John the Baptist recognizing Christ as the *agnus Dei*, and the Baptism of Christ in the River Jordan. For this work, see esp. Ingeborg Krüger, "Das Ulmer Hostienmühlenretabel im Zusammenhang der erhaltenen Hostienmühlendarstellungen," *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 42–43 (1978): 60–78.

synonymous here with the Word of God). On either side of the Mill stand the Twelve Apostles, who work its mechanism—a combination of grinding stones and cogwheels—by means of a long, horizontal hand crank. This process turns the grain into perfect white hosts, which tumble from the mill wheel into a chalice held by the Four Church Fathers, who kneel on a projecting cornice at the bottom of the pictorial composition. As if to drive home the fact that the hosts really contain the substantial presence of the flesh and blood of the Savior, the artist has "filled" the chalice with a diminutive Christ Child, whose cross-nimbed halo is magnified by the giant cogwheel behind him. Read from top to bottom, the three groups—Evangelists, Apostles, Church Fathers—demarcate three distinct time zones, each of which sees a gradual increase in the spreading of Christianity through its central emblem, the Eucharist-logos.

While winepresses and flour mills were a largely rural sight, most late medieval viewers would have associated the third machine drafted into eucharistic service—the fountain—with the urban space of the marketplace, located at the heart of virtually every larger late medieval community. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more affluent cities boasted several fountains, which often consisted of a combination of a central column or pinnacle with multiple levels of waterspouts and the water basin proper. In addition to their practical function, fountains, as sources of the cleansing, life-giving water, also bore a profound theological significance, which reverberated with associations of the Edenic *fons vitae*, of late antique baptisteries, and of the baptismal rituals of immersion and aspersion.[37] Both aspects of fountain architecture—the ubiquitous-utilitarian and the symbolic—are brought together in a miniature of the so-called Fountain of Christ's Blood (*Blut-Christi-Brunnen*) found in a Flemish Book of Hours of c. 1480 (Fig. 12).[38] Marking the geo-ontological juncture between earthly and heavenly Paradise, the Blood Fountain (here in the shape of a giant monstrance) stands in the center of a lush meadow, surrounded by the host of the elect. In their thirst for salvation all look up to the figure of the Man of Sorrows, who has miraculously emerged from a burst of supernatural light and materialized in the elaborate superstruc-

[37] For the nexus between late Gothic fountain design and the liturgy and symbolism of baptismal architecture, see Achim Timmermann, "A Promise of Paradise: Microarchitecture, Baptism, and the Font Ciborium of St. Severus in Erfurt," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 69 (2007): 177–188, with further literature.

[38] London, British Library, Add. MS 17026, fol. 33r. See John Reeve, ed., *Sacred: Books of the Three Faiths, Judaism, Christianity, Islam* (London, 2006), p. 178.

Figure 12. Anonymous, Flemish master, Book of Hours, Fountain of Christ's Blood, British Library, London, Add. MS 17026, fol. 33r (photo: author).

ture of the fountain. As he shows his wounds for all to see, blood trickles from his wounds and is caught in the polygonal pool at the base of the fountain. This blood-filled basin is meant to evoke both communion table and baptismal font, on which the saved encroach for an ultimate ingestion of, and immersion in, the salvific cruor of Christ.

The Mass of St. Gregory

While the three mechanized allegories just examined could still draw on earlier medieval and even late antique visual predecessors, the image of the Mass of St. Gregory or Gregorymass (German *Gregorsmesse*) was a purely late medieval creation, with the first examples cropping up no earlier than c. 1400.[39] Though many variants exist, each one depicts Pope Gregory the Great receiving a vision of the Man of Sorrows and the *arma Christi* while celebrating Mass at an altar. According to conventional scholarship, the image was explicitly calibrated to dispel doubts about the miracle of transubstantiation; recently, however, Caroline Walker Bynum has convincingly put forward a second line of interpretation, according to which this iconography "located, framed and explored the ultimately unseen," that is the mode of Christ's substantial presence in the species of bread and wine, a "presence both certain and problematic."[40] We can see this concern with vision (or with various modes thereof) at play in a mural that was added in c. 1460–1470 to the mid-fourteenth-century sacrament niche of Dauernheim in central Hesse (Fig. 13).[41] Painted to the left of the niche, the representation depicts nimbed Gregory, wearing a tiara and assisted by a cardinal, celebrating the Eucharist at an altar bedecked with chalice and paten, corporal, a cloth antependium and two lit candelabras. Though his face is now obscured, the inclination of his head suggests that his attention was initially captured by the apparition of a half-length Man of Sorrows emerging from a cloud at the back of the altar mensa and holding rod, whip, and the three nails of the Crucifixion. How Gregory perceives this vision—whether with his physical or spiritual eye—is unclear, especially now that much of his face has been lost, though it is

[39] On the Mass of St. Gregory, see most recently the essays in Andreas Gormans and Thomas Lentes, eds., *Das Bild der Erscheinung: Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter*, Kultbild: Visualität und Religion in der Vormoderne 3 (Berlin, 2007).

[40] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, 2006), pp. 208–240.

[41] Timmermann, *Real Presence*, pp. 267–268, with further literature.

Figure 13. Anonymous, central German master, Mass of St Gregory, c. 1460–70, painted above sacrament niche, Parish Church, Dauernheim, Germany (photo: author).

conceivable that as with many other Masses of Saint Gregory this ambiguity had been sought right from the outset. The issue of how exactly the eucharistic Christ was encountered, of "seeing and seeing beyond,"[42] was further complicated by the fact that while the faculty of sight enabled the contemporary viewer to discern the hovering *Schmerzensmann*, it utterly failed him or her in perceiving Christ's unseeable presence in the eucharistic host, preserved and displayed in the adjacent wall tabernacle.

Despite its subtleties regarding the pitfalls of eucharistic vision, the mural at Dauernheim remains indebted to an older tradition of Gregorymass images, indulgenced prints for example, with their almost singular focus on the spectator-figure of Gregory and the clutter of Passion Instruments floating above a despatialized altar block. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the iconography of the Mass of Saint Gregory underwent significant change in that Gregory's vision now takes place before an altarpiece-retable, sometimes in the choir of a Gothic church, and is often witnessed (though even less "seen") by numerous bystanders, both clerical and lay. A case in point is Hieronymus Bosch's version of the theme, painted in c. 1495 on the exterior wings of his Epiphany Triptych (also known as the Bronchorst Triptych), now in the Prado in Madrid (Fig. 14). The great Netherlandish painter's Mass of St. Gregory is remarkable for many reasons, of which some merit closer attention in the context of this publication. Bosch's Gregorymass takes place before a tall, bell-shaped altarpiece whose forms mirror exactly those of the actual closed triptych on which the image has been painted. Again, a chief concern is with physical and visual *praesentia*, which Bosch complicates through the inclusion of various kinds of thresholds and of liturgical hangings that reveal and conceal subtle changes in chromatic tonality, and the careful positioning of auxiliary figures (including those of donors) *vis-à-vis* an off-center Pope Gregory and the centrally located object of his vision, the Gregorian Man of Sorrows. Also at play are deliberate spatial ambiguities, the confrontation between different kinds of simulated media (painting versus sculpture in particular), and, in the words of Reindert Falkenburg, a "combinatory working of image and imagination [that] produces an oscillation between different options as to which visionary or material quality [...] one actually sees."[43] Perhaps the most radical innovation of Bosch is the

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[42] Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond," p. 227.

[43] Reindert Falkenburg, "Hieronymus Bosch's Mass of St. Gregory and 'Sacramental Vision,'" in *Das Bild der Erscheinung*, p. 194; here also further literature on this Bosch painting.

Figure 14. Hieronymus Bosch, Epiphany Triptych, exterior, Mass of St Gregory, c. 1495, Prado, Madrid. (Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor).

exact placement of the *imago pietatis* over the central seam between the two wings of the triptych. If we wish (physically or mentally) to open the altarpiece to reveal the central Epiphany scene therein, we literally need to break the *corpus Christi* apart. In committing this virtual act of violence, we reenact one of the central rituals of the eucharistic liturgy, the *fractio panis*, or breaking of the consecrated host. By simultaneously

appealing to both senses of vision, the physical and spiritual, Bosch offers us a quasi-tactile experience of the body of Christ; even more so, by allowing us to manipulate this body, if only in our imagination, the artist seemingly confers on us a privilege that is usually reserved for the officiating priest alone.

The key words here are "imagination" and "seemingly." While the Church very much encouraged the mental handling of the Eucharist, primarily through ocular ingestion or *manducatio per visum*, any lay person who deliberately sought physical contact with the consecrated species (other than for the purpose of the occasional physical communion or *manducatio per gustum*) was subject to the most severe punishments. How this anxiety, even paranoia, about physical access to the Eucharist was played out on the stage of late medieval iconography, often with dire consequences for the alleged suspects, is selectively investigated in the final section.

The Eucharist and the Jews

As the body of Christ was increasingly turned into an auratic object, it also became the site of growing contestation, sometimes real but mostly imaginary. By the end of the thirteenth century, just when the Feast of Corpus Christi was being introduced, both the Church and popular opinion had singled out the Jews as being the most prone to committing acts of profanation against the Eucharist and, even more so, of challenging the notion of real presence itself. The tale of Jewish host desecration was first told and acted out in Paris in 1290 and thereafter quickly spread to other areas of Europe, in particular the Holy Roman Empire.

With each successive telling—through sermons, miracle stories, and later printed broadsheets—the tale grew in complexity, even though, as Miri Rubin has shown, it always retained an underlying, narrative structure of four parts.[44] In the first part, a Jew or a group of Jews procures a host through a Christian accomplice, in many cases a woman. A broadsheet dating to c. 1490 and showing, in comic-strip fashion, the notorious tale of host desecration in Passau in 1477, depicts the moment of Eucharist theft as taking place in a church (Fig. 15). The sacrament house has been forced open, its monstrance removed, and a number of wafers, lying

[44] Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven and London, 1999), p. 45 and *passim*.

Figure 15. Anonymous, Bavarian master, woodcut showing host desecration of Passau in 1477, c. 1490, multiple locations (Visual Resources Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor).

upon the altar table, are about to be bagged by a thief. In the second part of the narrative, the host is recrucified, almost exclusively by male Jews, sometimes at home, though also, as shown in the broadsheet, in a synagogue. Ways of torturing the *corpus Christi* include piercing and stabbing, as depicted here, but also cutting, grinding, cooking and boiling, all of which cause bleeding in the image. Later the host is miraculously transformed into a crucifix, or, as suggested by the woodcut, into the Christ Child himself. In the third part of the story, the host proves to be indestructible and begins to work miracles. The Jews become frightened and try to dispose of it in rivers, fields and forests; yet, the host produces signs that reveal its location and lead to its rediscovery. Revenge follows, the perpetrators are tortured and killed, others banished and forcefully

converted. The acting out by Christians of this part of the narrative often effaced entire communities of Jews, such as those of Vienna in 1421 and of Wrocław in 1453. Finally, in part four of the tale, the event is marked by what Rubin calls "commemorative tokens of violence." A cult develops around the host and, sometimes, the instruments of torture. Synagogues, in certain cases the alleged *loci* of desecration, were razed to the ground, and chapels dedicated to the miraculous wafer erected in their place. The Passau broadside concludes with the depiction of such a cult setting: pilgrims are shown kneeling in front of a makeshift altar bearing a retable of the Crucifixion and surmounted by *ex voto* offerings.

In addition to being perpetuated through such seemingly factual narratives, the ethnography of supposed Jewish Eucharist abuse was constructed through allegory. The image of the so-called Living Cross, which has its origins in fourteenth-century northern Italy, echoes the violent mechanized logic of the Mystic Winepress and similar such allegories, but significantly, its brutality is directed not against the body of Christ, but against the figure of Synagoga and her followers, the Jews.[45] In most of the forty or so surviving examples of this image, four hands, gesturing or holding objects, grow from the arms of the cross to which Christ has been nailed. The hands at the top and bottom of the vertical stem unlock the gates of heaven and obliterate hell or Purgatory, respectively, while the horizontal crossbar—known as the *patibulum*—generates two hands that pass judgment on the personifications of Ecclesia or Synagoga riding or standing beneath them. Usually the right hand crowns or blesses the Church personified, while that on Christ's left or sinister side—wielding a sword, dagger, or arrow—stabs or transfixes Synagoga, keeping her at bay and annihilating her.

We return finally to the consecration scene by Hans Fries (Fig. 1). A look at the overall painting, presumably an altarpiece retable (Fig. 16), reveals that the scene is a detail in a rather unusual version of the Living Cross, in which the personification of the Church has been replaced by the priest celebrating Mass. Priests were Ecclesia's lawful representatives and, as emphasized by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), none but ordained priests were allowed to assist in conferring the sacramental reality on the eucharistic species of bread and wine. Fries' choice of a

[45] On the imagery of the Living Cross, see most recently Achim Timmermann, "Frau Venus, the Eucharist, and the Jews of Landshut," in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia and Oxford, 2011), pp. 143–202, with further bibliography.

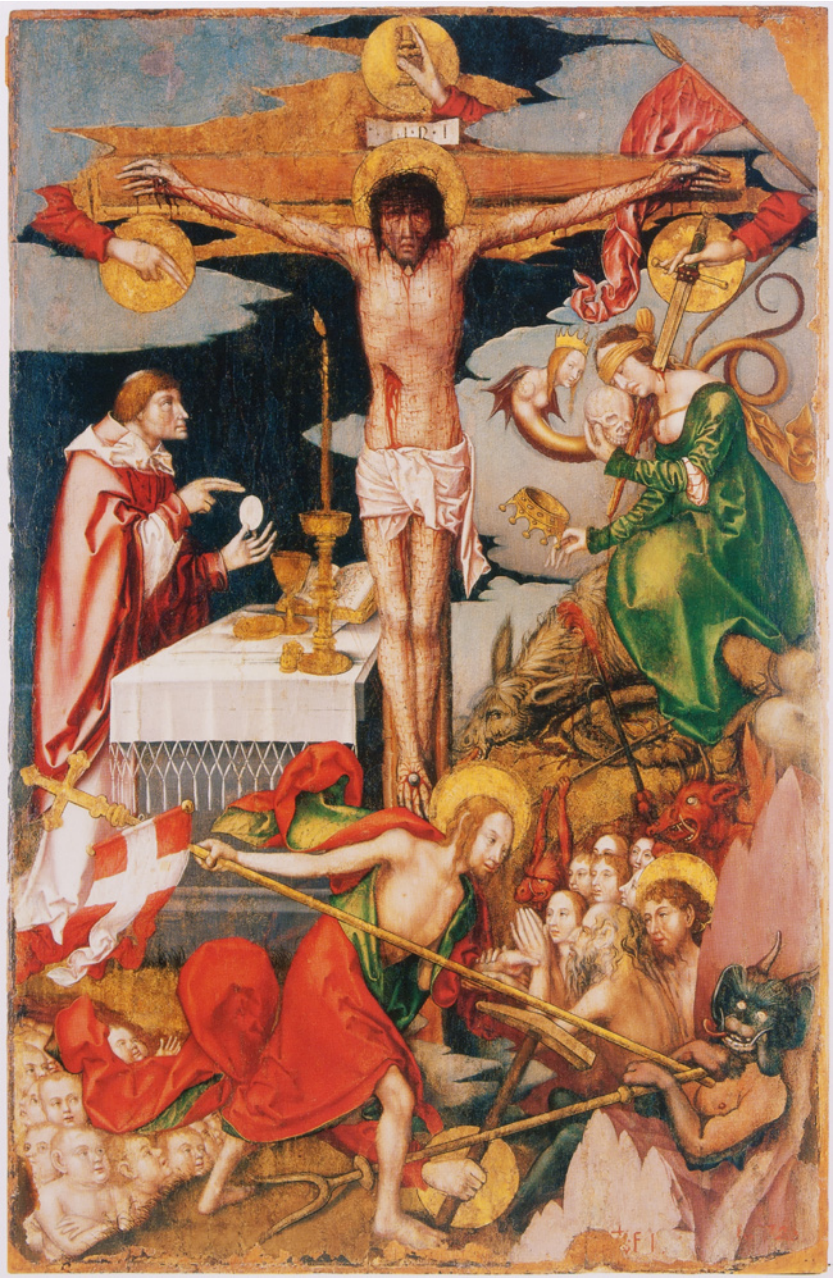

Figure 16. Hans Fries, Living Cross, c. 1510–12, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Fribourg, Switzerland (photo: author).

somewhat limited and more traditional array of eucharistic paraphernalia may have been intended to support the legitimacy of this claim—all objects were recognizable to a celebrant from the early thirteenth century. To further validate his point, Fries introduced, above the priest consecrating the host, a second blessing hand, which emerges from the right hand of the *patibulum* and appears to consecrate not only the priest but also the eucharistic vessels in front of him.

Juxtaposed to this defining act of ecclesiastical authority is the meek figure of Synagoga, whose neck is being pierced by a sword wielded by the left hand of the cross. Her crown has fallen to the ground, the ass she rides has perished, and her staff, its banner inscribed LEX, is broken; her project has failed. Ironically, the veil comes away from her eyes just as she embraces the fruit of her endeavors, a skull proffered by the crowned Edenic snake, in a micro-allegory of *vanitas*.

In this shocking representation of eucharistic triumphalism, the *vasa sacra* discussed at the beginning of this essay reveal a deeper, darker meaning. Blessed, like the priest, by the animated right hand of the anthropomorphized cross, both paten and chalice figure here not just as passive containers of the sacramental body of Christ, but as active tools in an ontological battle, in which the Old Law, LEX, must perish to assure the complete victory of the New Gospel of Christ. In Fries' relentless pictorial allegory, regeneration and annihilation, *elevatio* and *cessatio*, the vision of the Eucharist and the vision of death, are sides of the same coin.

THE LUTHERAN TRADITION

Birgit Ulrike Münch

The visualization of the Eucharist in Lutheran countries in the first decade of the confessional schism has not been fully analyzed, especially with regard to questions of continuities and turning points. Which elements are definitely new and how closely is the visual worship of the Eucharist linked with traditions of pre-Reformation times?[1] First of all, one has to define the prerequisites to classify a work of art as decidedly Lutheran. Those works of art produced after the 1520s that embodied iconographical patterns esteemed by Lutheran patrons or that reformulated traditional iconography come to mind.[2] Aside from the many propagandistic, often antithetical works such as the *Passional Christi et Antichristi*, or Law and Gospel altarpieces, the new conception of the Eucharist was mainly illustrated in works of art depicting the clear changes in Martin Luther's eucharistic theology, for example, the inclusion of communion in both kinds.

Visualizations of the Eucharist mystery in Lutheran communities rested upon Lutheran considerations of the nature and use of images. We begin there. Only then can we determine which functions eucharistic art had in its liturgical context. The Reformation's visual theology—including various iconoclastic controversies—is a lively field of current research. Numerous studies address Luther's statements on the use of images, focusing on the

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[1] Cf. Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London, 2004). The author concentrates solely on the so-called "Protestant Cranach," drawing no connections to the late medieval altarpiece, especially to the pre-Reformation communion altar. Regarding the spatial dimension of the field of interest, see Susanne Wegmann and Gabriele Wimböck, *Konfessionen im Kirchenraum: Dimensionen des Sakralraums in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Korb, 2007). Regarding pre-Reformation communion altars, see Barbara Welzel, *Abendmahlsaltäre vor der Reformation* (Berlin, 1991). Regarding the remodeling and reuse of pre-Reformation works of art in the course of Lutheran liturgical reformations, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 94–138, esp. pp. 121–138, e.g. the Sacrament Shrine by Adam Kraft in Nuremberg's St. Lorenz church or the Altar of the Holy Blood by Tilman Riemenschneider in Rothenburg ob der Tauber's St. Jacob's church. My essay focuses on the implementation of newly constructed works of art that embodied Lutheran theology from the start.

[2] See Wilhelm Steinböck, "Kunstwerke der Reformationszeit in der Steiermark: Ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Ikonographie und zur Kunstgeschichte der Steiermark des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Johannes Kepler 1571–1971* (Graz, 1975), pp. 409–410.

question of which visualizations might be permitted,[3] or of iconoclasm,[4] each strengthening one point or the other, often without sufficient differentiation between these two phenomena.[5] While older research identified roughly seventy passages in which Luther gives his view on the use of images, that research did not take Luther's vernacular writings into account, so the number is likely much larger. Another problem is what kind of pictures Luther actually had in mind. Is Luther writing about pictures outside the church's building, as seen in illustrated books, on leaflets or single leaf prints? Or is he writing about pictures directly connected to the church service, such as visualizations on altarpieces, pillar figurines, pulpits, galleries, or the design of liturgical equipment? This distinction is important. The picture illustrating a certain text in a book or leaflet is usually explained by the accompanying text; the intended recipient is, as a rule, at least partly literate.

Many visualizations of the Eucharist can be found in early Lutheran prints or single leaf woodcuts. A number of scholars have already pointed out the immense importance Luther accorded to printed works as well as print's significance for the distribution of his writings after 1518—beginning with the publication of *A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace* (*Ein Sermon von Ablass und Gnade*).[6] Luther describes printing, which he calls

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[3] Concerning images, see Jan Harasimowicz, "Scriptura sui ipsius interpres: Protestantische Bild-Wort-Sprache im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Wort und Bild, Bild und Text*, ed. Wolfgang Harms, Germanistische Symposien Berichtbände 11 (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 262–282; R. Bergmann, "A tröstlich picture: Luther's attitude in the question of images," *Renaissance and Reformation* 5 (1981): 15–25; Margarete Stirm, *Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte (Gütersloh, 1977); Carl C. Christensen, "Luther's theology and the uses of religious art," *Lutheran Quarterly* 22 (1970): 147–165; L.P. Spelman, "Luther and the arts," *Journal of Aesthetics* 10 (1951): 166–175.

[4] Concerning iconoclastic movements, see Jörg Jochen Berns, "Die Macht der äußeren und der inneren Bilder: Momente des innerprotestantischen Bilderstreits während der Reformation," in *Begrifflichkeit und Bildlichkeit der Reformation*, ed. Italo Michele Battafarano, Forschungen zur europäischen Kultur 5 (Bern, 1992), pp. 9–37; H. Feld, *Der Ikonoklasmus des Westens*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 45 (Leiden, 1990); Sergiusz Michalski, "Die protestantischen Bilderstürme: Versuch einer Übersicht," in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Robert Scribner, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 46 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 69–124; Horst Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte: Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution* (Frankfurt, 1975); Martin Warnke, ed., *Bildersturm: Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks* (Munich, 1973).

[5] Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: Christianity and Society in the Modern World* (London, 1993), pp. 51–59; Carlos M.N. Eire, *War against Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986).

[6] See Robert W. Scribner, "Flugblatt und Analphabententum: Wie kam der gemeine Mann zu reformatorischen Ideen?" in *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit*, ed. Hans-Joachim Köhler (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 65–76. Scribner argues against Elizabeth L.

"chalographia" or "typographia," as the greatest and latest of God's gifts to humankind by which God himself promotes the cause of his Gospel.[7] At least two other statements on these themes can be found in his writings. Regarding the wrong forms of imitating or meditating the *passio Christi*, Luther saw no difference between printed or painted illustrations;[8] however, he noticed the greater danger that lies in the wrong adoration given to a work of art placed in a church, compared to that placed in a private house.[9]

The Eucharist and Typology in Lutheran Visualization

According to late antique and medieval Christian theology and biblical exegesis, typology is the theory linking the Old with the New Testament: events in the Old Testament are interpreted as pre-figurations of events or aspects of Christ's life as described in the Gospels. Thus, the accounts of the Old Testament are seen as explicit or implicit prophecies, connecting pre-Christian and Christian history as a unit shaped by God. This not only parallels type and anti-type in religious history, but it also formulates a theological extension of meaning for the New Testament scenes. The number of known and preserved typologically structured book genres of the late Middle Ages and the early incunabula period, such as the *Pauper's Bible*, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, or the *Concordantia caritatis*, is enormous. In particular, the *Pauper's Bible* was one of the most widespread illustrated books in the German later Middle Ages. It condensed the biblical narrative in pictures accompanied by short descriptive texts to reach out to the illiterate readers of the time, such as those in the lower clerical circles. The didactic procedure is always the same: a part of New Testament salvation history—the anti-type—is confronted with two scenes from the Old Testament—the types—and completed by four relevant images of prophets. The huge number of such book projects, ranging in

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Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), 1: 303–313.

[7] *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar, 1883–2009), Tischreden 2, pp. 523, 649, and 1038, hereafter WA. If not mentioned otherwise, all translations are author's. See as well, Andrea König, *Medienethik aus theologischer Perspektive: Medien und Protestantismus: Chancen, Risiken, Herausforderungen und Handlungskonzepte* (Regensburg, 2005), p. 52.

[8] See Otto Clemen and Albert Leitzmann, eds., *Martin Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, 6th ed., 8 vols. (Berlin, 1966), 1: 156–60.

[9] See WA 16:440.

time from the era of manuscript illumination well into that of print after 1500, led to a widespread scholarly assumption.

Lutheran visualizations of the Eucharist are closely connected to typology and its late medieval tradition, since some of the most popular and widespread scenes, such as Abraham before Melchizedek or the prophet Elijah and the angel, are types for the anti-type of the Last Supper, the biblical source for the Eucharist. Modern scholars have assumed that typologically or antithetically structured works of art lost their significance in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, especially after the onset of Reformation.[10] This presupposes that an aggressive iconoclasm existed in early Protestant art, which rejected any use of Old Testament themes. Art historical research has therefore insisted on a decline or total absence of typology in art from the onset of the Reformation, supporting this view with Luther's statement:

> I myself wasted a lot of time reading the works of the ecclesiastical fathers like Gregory, Jerome, Cyprian, Augustine, Origen, because the fathers found such an astonishing delight and joy in allegorical exegesis that they filled their own works with it. Especially Origen was the king of allegory and he filled the whole Bible with such interpretations that aren't worth a piece of dirt. [...] Origen has done much damage to Christ with that enterprise.

Luther wrote this controversial attack on allegorical and typological Bible exegesis in his sermons on Exodus, published at Wittenberg in 1524 under the title of *An Instruction, How Christians Should Regard Moses* (*Eyn Unterrichtung wie sich die Christen ynn Mosen sollen schicken*).[11]

One can also find the opposing view in Luther's writings. Beginning in 1985, Friedrich Ohly published works emphasizing Luther's traditional way of interpreting and making use of typology. He pointed out that, especially in his last years, Luther used typological schemes to elucidate events in the sacred life of Christ through references to the Old Testament.[12] A close

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[10] See, for example, Georg M. Lechner, ed., *Das Wort ward Bild: Quellen der Ikonographie* (Göttweig, 1991), pp. 98–107; Friedrich Ohly, "Typologie als Denkform der Geschichtsschreibung," in *Typologie: Internationale Beiträge zur Poetik*, ed. Volker Bohn (Frankfurt, 1988), pp. 23–27; Friedrich Ohly, *Gesetz und Evangelium: Zur Typologie bei Luther und Lucas Cranach*, Schriftenreihe der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität 1 (Münster, 1985), pp. 16–47; Erich Fascher, "Typologie," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4th ed., ed. Bernd Janowski, et al. (Tübingen, 2005), vol. 8, cols. 1094–1098. See also Harasimowicz, "Scriptura," pp. 262–282; Hermann Oertel, "Protestantische Bilderzyklen," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1978): 102–132.

[11] See WA 16:68–69; G. Ebeling, *Evangelische Evangelienauslegung: Eine Untersuchung zu Luthers Hermeneutik*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1962), p. 8.

[12] See Ohly, "Typologie," pp. 23–27, following Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther und das Alte Testament* (Tübingen, 1948), p. 209–211.

examination of some early Lutheran printed works reveals art which can in no way be classified as anti-typological. The contrary is true: with very few exceptions, the whole body of early Reformation art consists of typologically structured works, especially illustrated prints. The most prominent leaders of the Wittenberg Reformation, Luther or Philipp Melanchthon, directly or indirectly supervised and guarded some of the most popular and widespread prints in this corpus. In his *Lenten Postils* (*Fastenpostille*) of 1525, Luther comments on the Epistle for Sunday Septuagesima:

> All of God's deeds and sayings pointed to the coming Christ, who came afterwards, and in whom they all believed, even as Abraham saw behind him the ram in the bush and took it and sacrificed it, that is to be understood he believed in Christ, who would come afterwards and be sacrificed.[13]

This esteem for and the continuation of the tradition of typological imagery reached its high point in the year 1550 with the most substantial typological book project of the sixteenth century, the *Concordance to the Old and New Testaments* (*Concordantz alt vnd news testament*). Executing artist for this work was Augustine Hirschvogel, heir to a Nuremberg dynasty of glass painters.[14] He juxtaposed 238 scenes from the Old and New Testaments. This large number of illustrations led to some biblical passages being illustrated in the *Concordance* which had not been illustrated in the substantial typological compendia of the Middle Ages. The work's frontispiece informs us that the *Concordance* is a Protestant enterprise and shows the Lamb of God and the Tabernacle, symbols of blood and altar, thereby emphasizing the close connection between Old and New Testament sacrifice and its contemporary presence in the Eucharist.[15] Hirschvogel's typological work was intended as a textbook for the Protestant school at Sárospatak that Peter Perenius had founded. It underwent several editions. The descriptive texts accompanying the illustrations were printed separately from the pictures, because the images were etchings. In contrast to the *Pauper's Bible*, one Old Testament scene is consistently paired with a scene from the New Testament. The typological

[13] WA 17.2:134.

[14] See Jane Susan Peters, "Frühe Glasgemälde von Augustin Hirschvogel," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1980): 79–92, esp. 88; regarding Hirschvogel's life and work, see Karsten Falkenau, *Die Concordantz alt vnd news Testament: Ein Hauptwerk biblischer Typologie des 16. Jahrhunderts illustriert von Augustin Hirschvogel*, Studien zur christlichen Kunst 2 (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 15–19.

[15] The initiating force behind the book is identified as Peter Perenius, who had been the commander of the Hungarian forces against the Ottoman Empire, according to a letter by Melanchthon, Falkenau, *Die Concordantz alt vnd news Testament*, p. 19.

relation between Melchizedek's blessing of Abraham and the Last Supper is a parallelization also occurring in many versions of the *Pauper's Bible*.[16] Here Christ and his disciples are assembled around a long table in a bare room, the Savior being encompassed by a splendid radial nimbus (Fig. 1). Noticeable is the manner in which he distributes the Last Supper. While he hands out bread with his right hand, wine is poured into a chalice, which he holds in his left hand. The accompanying German text refers to Matthew 26:20–29. The typologically-related etching shows the priest Melchizedek blessing Abraham, while behind him chalices are filled with

Figure 1. Augustin Hirschvogel, Last Supper, in *Die Concordantz alt und news Testament*, Vienna 1550, fol. 34b. (photo: Author)

[16] See Avril Henry, *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition of the Forty-Page Blockbook* (Aldershot, 1987), p. 83.

wine and other sacrifices are prepared. Inherent parallels in the etching of the Last Supper also exist. The artist of the *Concordance* focuses on the communion of the apostles as the institution of the Eucharist, not on a precise labeling of Judas as traitor. In his sermon about the book of Genesis from 1523, first printed by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg a year later,[17] Luther characterizes Melchizedek repeatedly as "figura Christi."[18]

The Iconography of Blood in Lutheran Visualization

One of the most important and influential newly invented Protestant iconographical themes of the sixteenth century is the allegory of Law and Gospel, which itself is typological. The Law represents the Old Testament scene (*sub lege*) while the Gospel stands for the time of the New Testament (*sub gratia*). Both Latin terms appear in several versions of the allegory; nevertheless, no standardized contemporary title for the different depictions existed.[19] On the left, the Law is represented by the fall of man, Adam and the Ten Commandments. According to Luther's conception, the Law can confront man with his own sinfulness, but it cannot deliver him from it; this can only be achieved with the help of Christ. Therefore, man is driven into hell in the left part of the picture. On the right hand, Christ is resurrected and victorious over sin and death. John the Baptist points out the crucified Lord to the viewer. This typological pattern was developed by the Cranach workshop. In many but not all copies of this iconography, Christ's spurting blood hits the believer directly.[20] The earliest versions of this iconography, an illustration for a work by Urbanus Rhegius, as well as the frontispiece of Luther's *Auslegung der Evangelien* of 1528,[21] do not show the spurt of blessed blood from the side wound. However, the Gotha Altarpiece by Lucas Cranach the Elder, dated around 1529, contains it and has long been

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[17] WA 14.3.

[18] See Falkenau, *Die Concordantz alt vnd news Testament*, p. 58.

[19] Regarding the terminology, see Christoph Weimer, *Luther, Cranach und die Bilder: Gesetz und Evangelium—Schlüssel zum reformatorischen Bildgebrauch* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 1–3; Heinz Scheible, "Die Bedeutung der Unterscheidung von Gesetz und Evangelium für theologische Ethik und Praktische Theologie am Beispiel Melanchthons," in *Christentum und Spätmoderne: Ein internationaler Diskurs übe Praktische Theologie und Ethik*, ed. Heinz Schmidt and Johannes van der Ven (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 93–100.

[20] Cf. Heimo Reinitzer, *Gesetz und Evangelium: Über ein reformatorisches Bildthema, seine Tradition, Funktion und Wirkungsgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 2006); Miriam Verena Fleck, *Ein tröstlich gemelde: Die Glaubensallegorie "Gesetz und Gnade" in Europa zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 5 (Korb, 2010).

[21] Cf. Fleck, *Ein tröstlich gemelde*, cat. nos. 3.2.1.1., 6 and 7.

regarded as one of the initial catalysts for the later popularity of the theme.[22] Most works of art modeled after the Gotha Altarpiece display the spurt of blood in an eye-catching way, e.g., the so-called Frankfurt Drawing by the elder Cranach, which is supposed to be the draft for the right wing-pair of the Schneeberg Altarpiece,[23] as well as a single leaf woodcut from 1530 of the Cranach workshop, which is supposed to have been a leaflet. In the latter, a broad spurt of blood hits the head and upper part of the believer's body.[24] In his lecture on Psalm 51 in 1523, which can be seen as one of the main textual sources for the allegory of Law and Gospel, Luther himself had already pointed out that the blood of Christ cleanses man of his sins:

> We want to aim for the aspersion of the spirit and for the inner ablution, what St. Peter calls the aspersion with the blood of Jesus Christ by which all of us who listen to Christ's Gospel and believe in it, are being cleansed.[25]

In contrast to the depictions of Law and Gospel, the whole of passion iconography[26] and the display of the "fons pietatis" cannot be categorized as easily in terms of confessional art. The iconography of the blood fountain that forms out of the cicatrices of the crucified Lord or the Man of Sorrows is transconfessional in nature, as it can be found engraved on tombs in both Catholic and Protestant countries.[27] Luther rejected the Catholic idea of transubstantiation—i.e., the doctrine that the priest's words of consecration change the substance of the bread and the wine into the body and the blood of Christ—but not that of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Therefore, Christ's blood rarely pours directly into the chalice in Lutheran visualizations.[28] Rather, the spurt of Christ's blood hits believers or pours into the Lutheran sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, as seen in Protestant leaflets.[29] In the case of a leaflet

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[22] Lucas Cranach the Elder, Gotha tablet, 82.2 × 118 cm, oil-tempera on basswood, Museum of the Castle at Gotha.

[23] Fleck, *Ein tröstlich gemelde*, cat. no. 2.

[24] Fleck, *Ein tröstlich gemelde*, cat. no. 88.

[25] WA 40.2:402.

[26] See Birgit Ulrike Münch, *Geteiltes Leid: Die Passion Christi in Bildern und Texten der Konfessionalisierung von der Reformation bis zu den jesuitischen Großprojekten um 1600* (Regensburg, 2009).

[27] Maj-Brit Wadell, *Fons pietatis: Eine ikonographische Studie* (Gothenburg, 1969), p. 74.

[28] James Clifton, "Ein Brunnen voll Blut: Darstellungen des Blutes Christi vom Mittelalter bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Blut: Kunst—Macht—Politik—Pathologie* (Frankfurt, 2001), pp. 65–89, esp. p. 77. For the doctrine of transubstantiation, see the contributions of Gary Macy and Robert Daly to this volume; on Luther's understanding, see the contribution by Volker Leppin to this volume.

[29] E.g. in Matthias Zündt's leaflet Schiff des Christlichen Glaubens of 1570, Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 113–114.

entitled, *The Ship of Christian Belief* (*Schiff des Christlichen Glaubens*), the spurt of blood hits the head of the believer who holds up the chalice for communion, making impossible any parallelization of blood and consecrated wine. However the "fons pietatis" can be placed directly behind the main scene without interfering with the act of the Eucharist. One of the most famous examples of this iconography is a polemical woodcut from the Cranach school: in it Luther and Jan Hus distribute the communion to members of the Saxon royal house while the blood fountain crowned with the crucifix arises on the altar behind them (Fig. 2).[30]

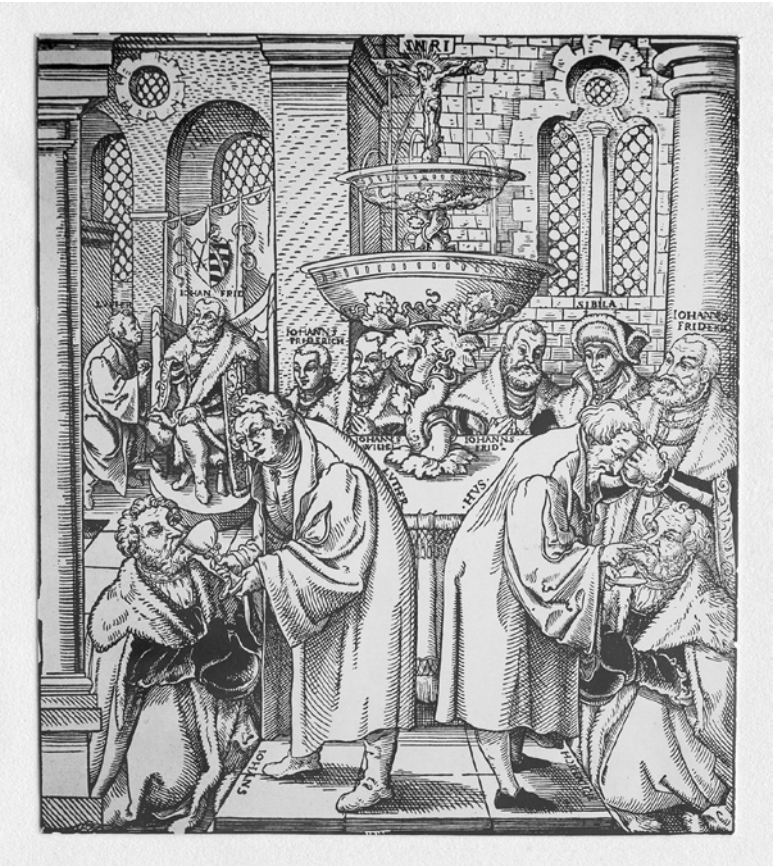

Figure 2. Cranach-Workshop, *Luther and Hus Distributing Communion*, c. 1550, woodcut, 71.2 × 80 cm. (photo: Author)

[30] Cranach workshop, allegorical depiction of Lutheran theology including portraits of Martin Luther, elector Johann of Saxony, Jan Hus, and elector Frederick the Wise, woodcut, 71.2 × 80 cm.

Eucharist Altarpieces

The veneration of the Eucharist in Lutheran countries is found mainly in altarpieces. Some Lutheran national churches, including Württemberg, rejected the idea of the altarpiece altogether. Therefore Lutheran altarpieces visualizing the Lutheran understanding of the Eucharist are mainly a northern and eastern German phenomenon. It would nevertheless be wrong to assert that the implementation of the Reformation was followed by a complete replacement of the décor of Lutheran churches.

Figure 3. Christoph Walther, *Christ distributing the Eucharist*, City Church, Penig Altarpiece (detail), sandstone, 1564. (photo: Sächs. Landesamt f. Denkmalpflege, Dresden)

On the contrary, medieval altars were often left intact as whole or slightly altered, such as by detaching the sculptures of saints or by replacing a specific wing of the altar. The Lutheran rite of celebrating the Holy Supper is the topic of a number of altarpieces primarily in northern Germany. One of them is the Penig Altarpiece of 1564 (Fig. 3). This altarpiece, made from sandstone by Christoph Walther, shows a communion scene directly beneath its main crucifixion scene, thereby closely connecting these two iconographies with each other. The distinctive feature is the portrait of the patron, which can be found as relief on the side. In it, Christ, in the shape of the pastor, distributes the Eucharist to the believer. Beyond that, this unusual iconography—Christ himself handing the worshiper the *corpus Christi*—is found on the altarpiece of castle Rochsburg, while in Mühlberg and Großhain (Zabeltitz) pastor and deacon are presented before the altar distributing the Holy Supper in both kinds.

Iconographical Programs on Lutheran Altarpieces

The frequent appearance of the Eucharist as the main subject on retable or predella can be traced back to Luther's interpretation of Psalm 111 in the year 1530:

> Whoever here has a wish to place panels on the altar, he should let the Last Supper be painted with these two verses, "The forgiving and merciful Lord instituted a remembrance of his miracle." These should be written around in large, golden letters, so that they might stand there before the eyes so that the heart might reflect on it—indeed also the eyes, as they read, shall praise and thank God. For because the altar is thus intended that one dispenses the sacrament on it, one can put no better picture on it.[31]

An analysis of Lutheran altarpieces shows that many patrons, theologians, and artists followed Luther's statement. The Nuremberg Family Altarpiece, probably created by Hans Springinklee in 1524 and actually located in Roßtal, shows in the center panel a Mercy Seat in combination with Mount Calvary, the so-called "Volkreicher Kalvarienberg." A communion under both kinds can be found beneath the Calvary scene. Hans Carl von Haebler has listed more than thirty altarpieces produced between 1560 and 1660 in northern and eastern Germany that present the image of the Last Supper or Holy Communion. Twenty-three of these show this

[31] WA 31.1:415; translation and interpretation in Koerner, *Reformation*, pp. 321–325.

Figure 4. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Last Supper*, Schneeberg Altarpiece, Predella, St. Wolfgang, Schneeberg, 1539. (photo: Author)

scene in the predella.[32] Even the earliest Lutheran retable of the Cranach workshop, the Schneeberg Altarpiece of 1539, visualizes the Last Supper (Fig. 4).[33] Around 1531, Elector John the Constant of Saxony commissioned Lucas Cranach the Elder to paint a retable. The winged altarpiece presents a Law and Gospel scene as well as crucifixion and resurrection scenes. The predella depicts the Last Supper: Christ and his disciples are presented in a close-up view. The elongated table where Christ is distributing the dipped bread to Judas takes up the whole space of the predella.[34]

One of the most prominent Lutheran altarpieces which also deals in certain ways with the cult of the Eucharist is the Altar of the Sacraments or Wittenberg Altarpiece, which was probably painted by both Cranachs (Fig. 5).[35] The altarpiece was created for the City Church of Wittenberg in 1547 shortly after Luther's death. The Last Supper is the iconographic subject, but it differs from the familiar tradition in that it shows Christ and his disciples sitting at a round table on a stone bench. One of the disciples

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[32] Hans Carl von Haebler, *Das Bild in der evangelischen Kirche* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 33, 245.

[33] Koerner, *Reformation*, pp. 204, 430–432; Susanne Wegmann and Thomas Pöpper, eds., *Das Bild des Neuen Glaubens: Das Cranach-Retabel in der Schneeberger St. Wolfgangskirche* (Regensburg, 2011); Wolfgang Brückner, *Lutherische Bekenntnisgemälde des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: Die illustrierte Confessio Augustana* (Regensburg, 2007), p. 65.

[34] A similar iconography shows an altarpiece by Cranach the Younger of 1565 for the City Church of Kemberg (partly destroyed in 1994). See Ingrid Schulz, *Lucas Cranach d.J. und die protestantische Bildkunst in Sachsen und Thüringen. Frömmigkeit, Theologie, Fürstenreformation* (Bucha, 2004), pp. 170–176.

[35] Schulz, *Cranach d.J.*, pp. 32–51.

Figure 5. Lucas Cranach the Elder and the Younger, *Altar of the Sacraments* or *Wittenberg Altarpiece*, City Church Wittenberg, 1547. (photo: with permission of the Stadtkirchengemeinde Wittenberg)

is represented as Martin Luther in his persona, Junker Jörg. A cup-bearer fills his mug, while Luther turns towards him and also presents his face to the viewer. In a similar way, as in the Schneeberg Altarpiece, some disciples apart from Luther are depicted with contemporary beard style and clothing.[36] The different panels of the Altarpiece present Melanchthon baptizing a little child on the left and Johannes Bugenhagen with a confessional box on the right. Bugenhagen was pastor to this congregation from 1523 onwards. In the predella, which completes the triad justification—absolution—sacrament, Luther preaches from the pulpit about the crucified Christ in the center to a group of lay people.

[36] Contemporary figures pictured around the table of the disciples can also be found in the retable of the church in Klitten (1587). See Schulz, *Cranach d.J.*, p. 287.

Figure 6. Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Memorial for Joachim of Anhalt*, St. John, Dessau, 1565. (photo: Elisabeth Krause)

There are more altarpieces and images of the Cranach workshop in which Luther, Melanchthon, and even Cranach appear in a historical scene. This frequent and reiterated representation of contemporaries within a biblical image is a novelty in Lutheran art. In contrast to the Wittenberg City Altarpiece, with its focus on Lutheran belief following the Augsburg Confession, the Wittenberg Castle Church Altarpiece was probably highly polemical. This Altarpiece was destroyed during the Seven Years War,

but it has been suggested that it resembled a woodcut of Lucas Cranach the Younger, dated from 1546. The print presents Luther in the pulpit preaching on the right and the wrong ways of humankind. On Luther's left side Catholics enter the jaws of hell, on his right side the righteous gather around the altar with Christ on the cross to receive the Lutheran communion in both kinds.[37] The Dessau Altarpiece or Memorial for Joachim of Anhalt, first erected in the Church of St. Mary in Dessau and today in the Church of St. John, was finished in 1565 (Fig. 6).[38] In the same way as the Wittenberg Altarpiece, it combines the Holy Supper with contemporary historical figures—now carried to extremes since every single disciple is a crypto-portrait![39] George III even touches Christ's body with both of his hands and emphasizes with this gesture the Incarnation of God. The interior of the setting refers to Dieric Bouts' Last Supper Altarpiece commissioned from the Leuven Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in 1464/67.[40]

Many other examples also demonstrate the main elements of the Protestant church service with communion under both kinds: the Nördlingen Altarpiece of St. Georg Church of 1568[41] of Jesse Herlin and Valentin Salomon or the Mühlberg Altarpiece of Heinrich Göding the Elder.[42] The Nördlingen Altarpiece juxtaposes those themes with the iconography of the Sabbath. Many other examples of the 1560s and 1570s portray the patron within the altarpiece, receiving the Lutheran communion, as can be seen in the Epitaph of Abraham of Nostitz of 1572.[43] Lucas Cranach the Younger made visible not the Holy Supper, but the divine spray of Holy Blood in the Weimar Altarpiece for John Frederic the Generous for the Church St. Peter and Paul in 1555 (Fig. 7).[44] Apart from the crucified Christ in the center of the image, the epitaph can be interpreted as a variation

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[37] Lucas Cranach the Younger, "The Eucharist of the Protestants and the Descent into Hell of the Catholics," woodcut, 27.8 × 38.8 cm, 1546. See Johannes Kahn, *1472–1553: Lucas Cranach d.Ä.: Das gesamte graphische Werk: Mit Exempeln aus dem graphischen Werk Lucas Cranachs d.J. und der Cranachwerkstatt* (München, 1972), pp. 670–671.

[38] Koerner, *Reformation*, pp. 379–381.

[39] Apart from Luther and Melanchthon are Bugenhagen and Caspar Cruciger. See Schulz, *Cranach d.J.*, pp. 189–90.

[40] Anna Bergmans, ed., *Dirk Bouts: Het Laatste Avondmaal* (Tielt, 1998).

[41] Today in the Reichsmuseum Nördlingen, Angelika Marsch, *Bilder zur Augsburger Konfession und ihren Jubiläen: Mit einem Beitrag von Helmut Baier* (Weißenhorn, 1980), p. 40, fig. 8–15.

[42] Koerner, *Reformation*, pp. 429–440.

[43] Museum Görlitz, 153.5 × 121 cm, see Brückner, *Bekenntnisgemälde*, pp. 72–73, fig. 33.

[44] Koerner, *Reformation*, pp. 231–234.

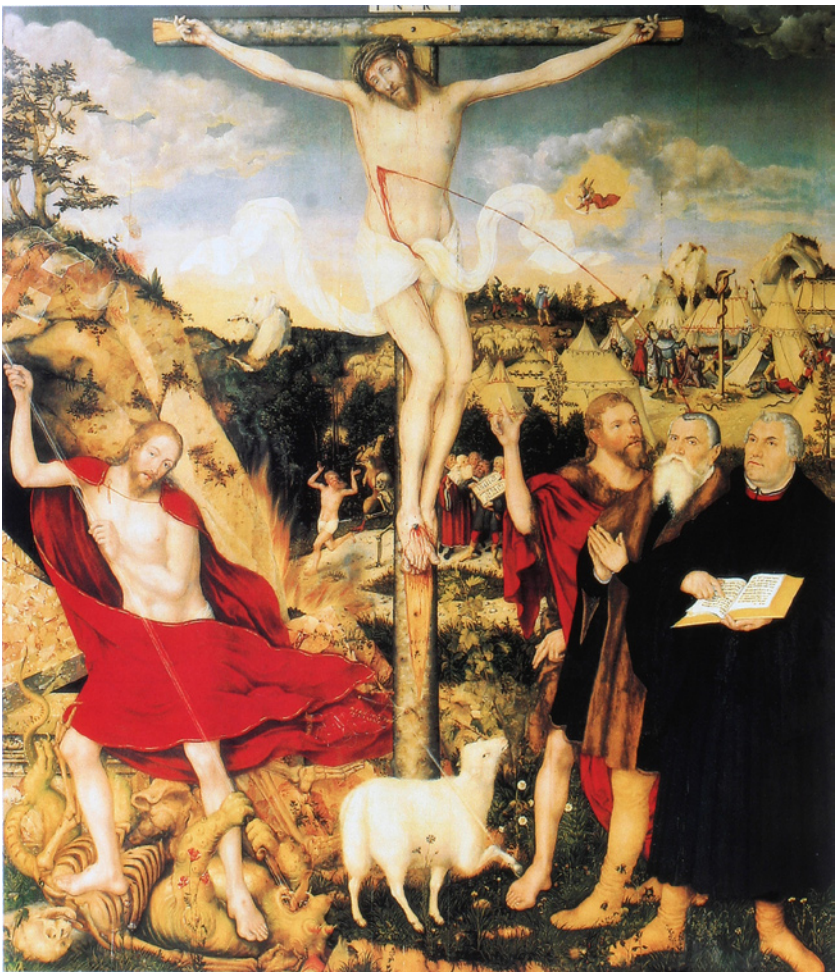

Figure 7. Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Weimar Altarpiece*, (detail: central panel), City Church, Weimar, 1555. (photo: Elisabeth Krause)

of the Law and Gospel theme, with Abraham and the brazen serpent in the background. Three figures are arranged next to Jesus Christ: John the Baptist, Lucas Cranach the Elder who is at prayer, and Luther. Cranach, who died two years before, "had been hit by a spray of blood that jets from Christ's side wound directly to the artist's head, splattering little droplets over his hair." The artist stands for the whole group of human beings of

the typologically third era *sub gratia*, for which his son created an "atemporal tableau of Christ's present presence."[45]

As the altarpieces and epitaphs of the Cranach workshop and their successors clearly demonstrate, the depiction of the Eucharist appears in manifold versions and visions. In decoding the multiple levels of their meaning—from the Last Supper to the communion under both kinds right up to the involvement of contemporary characters—it becomes clear that most of those images deal with certain aspects of proximity. As the works of art demonstrate, Georg III not only participates in the Last Supper, but he also touches *truly* the *corpus Christi*. In a similar way, Lucas Cranach the Elder is not only standing next to the crucified, but he is also *truly* struck by the blood of Christ. As the painting clearly shows, the blood even splashes from his head. Under these premises Lutheran art indeed created new and more haptical iconographical patterns of the Eucharist. This *real* and haptical experience of the Eucharist—God's blood and flesh—is illustrated in many works of the Cranach workshop and includes noteworthy laymen as well as Lutheran theologians. Following this interpretation, the painter Cranach himself represents the whole community of believers.

Image vs. Text: Catechism Altarpieces

The subject of the Eucharist also plays a central role in Lutheran catechism altarpieces. These altarpieces are either exclusively or mostly covered with texts. The altarpiece erected in 1537 in the Lutheran Church of the Holy Spirit in Dinkelsbühl was regarded for a long time as the earliest and most important example of this specific genre (Fig. 8).[46] The centerpiece cites some of the instituting words of the Last Supper, "Drink ye all of it,"

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[45] Koerner, *Reformation*, pp. 179–180, 368; Michael Böhlitz, "Der Weimarer Cranachaltar im Kontext von Religion und Geschichte: ein ernestinisches Denkmal der Reformation," in *Lucas Cranach 1553/2003. Wittenberger Tagungsbeiträge anlässlich des 450. Todesjahres Lucas Cranachs des Älteren*, ed. Andreas Tacke, Schriften der Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt 7 (Leipzig, 2007), pp. 277–298.

[46] See Dietrich Diederichs-Gottschalk, *Die protestantischen Schriftaltäre des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Nordwestdeutschland. Eine kirchen- und kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu einer Sonderform liturgischer Ausstattung in der Epoche der Konfessionalisierung*, Adiaphora: Schriften zur Kunst und Kultur im Protestantismus (Regensburg, 2005), pp. 21–22; Hans Belting, "Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder," in *Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder. Reformatorischer Bildersturm im Kontext der europäischen* Geschichte, ed. Peter Blickle, Historische Zeitschrift Beiheft N.F. 33 (Munich, 2002), pp. 11–32.

Figure 8. Anonymous, *Text Altarpiece* or *Catechism Altarpiece*, Holy Spirit Church, Dinkelsbühl, 1537. (photo: Author)

(Matthew 26:27ff.), while the Ten Commandments are written on the side wings. Recent studies have shown that this supposed catechism altarpiece is only the predella of a much larger altarpiece now lost.[47] Other altarpieces incorporating large numbers of inscriptions are the so-called Mömpelgard Altarpiece, made in 1540 by Heinrich Füllmaurer for count George of Württemberg and now shown at the Vienna Art Historical Museum, as well as the older Gotha Altar Retable with fourteen wings, now in the Friedenstein Castle Museum.[48] The cartouches of these polyptichs, which are alterable threefold and even fourfold, contain the text of Luther's translation of the Gospels' account of the life of Christ. The Last Supper and the Maundy Thursday foot-washing follow each other as an equated narration, depicting the foot-washing in the foreground and the Last Supper at a long table in the background. The high importance of the biblical textual addenda acquires a paradigmatic quality for Protestant art

[47] Koerner, *Reformation*, pp. 289–293; Diederichs-Gottschalk, *Die protestantischen Schriftaltäre*, p. 22.

[48] Cf. Thomas Packeiser, "Umschlagende Fülle als Autorität des Einen: Abundanz, Inversion und Zentrierung in den Tafelaltären Heinrich Füllmaurers," in *Das Bild als Autorität: Die normierende Kraft des Bildes*, ed. Frank Büttner and Gabriele Wimböck, Pluralisierung & Autorität 4 (Münster, 2004), pp. 401–445; Herbert von Hintzenstern, *Die Bilderpredigt des Gothaer Tafelaltars* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 21–25.

in Füllmaurer's polyptichs.[49] Since word and image appear as equatable partners, with detailed images accompanied by vernacular biblical passages, this structure guaranteed accessibility for a broad audience.

Catechism altarpieces broaching the issue of the Eucharist are found primarily in northern Germany. One of these examples, the mid-sixteenth-century catechism altarpiece in Norden, even allows us to reconstruct the function of this specific form of Lutheran liturgical art.[50] When the altarpiece is closed, the Ten Commandments can be read on the outside. As the congregation approached the altar for holy communion, the opened altarpiece shows the initial words of the Last Supper. Other catechism altarpieces incorporating a Eucharist centerpiece are more symbolic in their rendering of the Lutheran idea of communion, although their actual liturgical inclusion in the church service remains doubtful. The initial words of the Last Supper are engraved, however, into a large chalice on the center panel of the altarpiece of Roggenstede, which is dated around 1590.[51] The center panel contains three key Christian texts taught in Luther's catechisms: the host above the chalice is formed out of parts of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments flank the chalice on both sides, and the Apostles' Creed is written below it. The heyday of catechism altarpieces was, however, the seventeenth century, with remarkable examples such as Bliedersdorf (1611 and 1622) and Elmslohe (1645).[52] In summary, one could say that Lutheran catechism altarpieces often served as Eucharist altars, presenting the initial words of the Last Supper on predellas or Eucharist tablets, thus also representing the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession.[53]

Liturgical Equipment

Cities that instituted the Lutheran liturgy dealt with their existing medieval liturgical vessels and cloths for celebrating the Eucharist in different ways. Some churches reused them, while in other cities the liturgical vessels of the Mass were melted down. The new concept of two kinds of

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[49] Sergiusz Michalski, "Inscriptions in Protestant Paintings and in Protestant Churches," in *Ars ecclesiastica: The Church as a Context for Visual* Arts, ed. Arja-Leena Paavola, Käytännöllisen Teoligan Laitoksen Julkaisuja 85 (Jyväskyla, 1996), pp. 34–47, as well as Diederichs-Gottschalk, *Die protestantischen Schriftaltäre*, pp. 16–17; Michalski, *Reformation*.

[50] Diederichs-Gottschalk, *Die protestantischen Schriftaltäre*, pp. 39–67.

[51] Diederichs-Gottschalk, *Die protestantischen Schriftaltäre*, pp. 108–127.

[52] Brückner, *Bekenntnisgemälde*, pp. 111–116, figs. 57 and 58.

[53] Brückner, *Bekenntnisgemälde*, p. 23.

communion and the denial of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation did not imply a fundamental change for broad levels of the population: bread was still the holy body and the liturgical wine was still the holy blood. While the Reformed Church preferred cups and plates without any pictorial representation at all, a Lutheran iconography of the Eucharist was established for liturgical vessels during the first half of the sixteenth century. Early examples of patens with lids or bread bowls date back to the 1530s and were created in the workshop of the goldsmith Christoph I. Epfenhauser for the Protestant church St. Afra and the Church of the Holy Cross in Augsburg.[54] On the lid the goldsmith created a sculpture of the Lamb of God. An important innovation within the Lutheran church service was the so-called lay chalice as a new focal point of Lutheran confession. The chalice of the Lutheran church St. Andrew in Hollenstedt (Lower Saxony) is one of the oldest Lutheran communion cups. The shaft of this chalice bears the inscription, VDMIAE, the well-known Lutheran motto *Verbum Domini Manet In Aeternum*, a confident expression of the enduring authority of God's Word. The device is based on 1 Peter 1:24–25 and can be found on numerous Lutheran tombstones and townhouses. It became a device of Reformation in the Empire in 1526 when Evangelical princes used it at the Diet of Speyer.[55] The Hollenstedt chalice can be described as a hybrid: Stylistically, the chalice stands in the medieval tradition with its late medieval form. A crucifix, the Last Supper and the Resurrection are the main images of this artistic craftwork. This ornamental iconography also follows pre-Reformation art, but in combining the Lutheran inscription with older traditions, the artist created a new object of art for a new practice during the Eucharist, since the implementation of the lay chalice found its visualization here.

As Harasimowicz pointed out, the donation of a new communion cup became both an expression of Lutheran belief as well as a representation of the body of believers.[56] Pyxes were often reused after the institution of Reformation. Newly created artifacts usually show scenes of the Passion of

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[54] Jan Harasimowicz, "Altargerät des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts im konfessionellen Vergleich," in *Als Frieden möglich war. 450 Jahre Augsburger Religionsfrieden*, ed. Carl A. Hoffmann, et al. (Regensburg, 2005), pp. 210–221, cat. I.15, pp. 216, 313–314; Thomas Müller, "Zur Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst der Reformation," *Pantheon* 18 (1960): pp. 16–19; Martin Brecht,"Theologische, biblische, liturgische, kirchliche, spirituelle und soziale Bezüge," in *Das evangelische Altargerät in Deutschlandi*, ed. Johann Michael Fritz (Leipzig, 2004), pp. 46–59, esp. pp. 49–50, 355–57, no. 38, fig. 77.

[55] Harasimowicz, "Altargerät des 16. und frühen 17," pp. 210–21, cat. I.15, p. 313.

[56] Harasimowicz, "Altargerät des 16. und frühen 17," p. 216.

Christ and the Lamb of God.[57] The only real innovations were the so-called cans for the wine of the communion (Abendmahlskannen), which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[58] Visualizations of the Holy Supper are often combined with the fall of man and the Resurrection on these Lutheran artifacts.[59]

Printing and Book Production

Visualizations of the Eucharist and the Last Supper appear within different iconographies in Lutheran prints and illustrated books. Apart from the Law and Gospel images, visualizations of the Lutheran communion can be found primarily in two genres of books: the Lutheran *Postils* and the *Catechisms*. Each is a major genre in the newly created Lutheran literature and is illustrated by a wide range of woodcuts. The *Postils* contain up to ninety illustrations, while the catechisms include thirty or forty images. The visualization of the cyclic order of the life and passion of Christ can be found in the *Postils* for the first time.[60] The title *Postils*—which derives from the Latin expression *post illa verba textus*—identifies the book as an instrument of exegesis of parts of the Bible for sermons. Following Luther's *Postils for Sermons* of 1522, the book became an important type of Lutheran devotional literature and was promoted as a kind of pattern book for Lutheran sermons. Several Lutheran writings set forth both the intended function and the intended readership of the *Postils*. On the one hand, the *Postils* offer a substitute for attendance at worship and participate in the goal of educating householders, together with their families. On the other hand, the *Postils* can also educate young clerics, because unqualified pastors might be improved through reading sermons. Luther's *Postils* were published in thirty-three editions, one in Latin, with ten different titles during his lifetime. Many of them, primarily the prints published by Georg Rhau and Peter Seitz the Elder in Wittenberg between 1530 and 1545, show illustrations of the Lutheran communion. The scene is divided into two parts. In the foreground a congregation is sitting in front of the preaching Jesus, while the church interior, where the Holy Supper is

[57] Jan Harasimowicz, "Bildprogramme, Symbolik, konfessionelle Bedeutung," in *Das evangelische Altargerät in Deutschland*, pp. 60–71, esp. p. 63, cat. 126.
[58] Fritz, *Das evangelische Altargerät in Deutschland*, p. 27.
[59] Harasimowicz, "Bildprogramme," pp. 64–65.
[60] *Kirchenpostille* (1522) in WA 10.1:1–739; *Hauspostille* (1544) in WA 52:1–839.

Figure 9. Anonymous, Christ Preaching and Lutheran Communion, in Martin Luther, *Auslegung der Euangelien*, Wittenberg (Georg Rhau) 1530, 5ª H 278. (photo: HAB Luther-Katalog)

being celebrated, is visible to the viewer. Behind the table is an altarpiece with a cross (Fig. 9).[61]

The *Postils* Michael Lotter printed in Magdeburg 1530–1531, are visually similar, but the landscape around the scene and the church interior are depicted in much more detail.[62] Analogously, Lutherans rededicated the word catechism—which had its origins in late antiquity and was a popular medieval genre—as a title of a particular kind of text.[63] Luther invited heads of the households to teach their families and servants at least once a week (the *Small Catechism* of May 1529 came for this reason to be called a "house book").[64] The text for the Sacrament of the Altar (VI)

[61] *Auslegung der | Euangelien, an | den fürnemisten Festen | ym gantzen iare, ge= | prediget durch | Martinum Luther*, Wittenberg 1530, Georg Rhau, 5ª H 278. On the other editions of the *Postille*, see WA 10.1.2:28; WA 38:437, 439; WA 60:323.

[62] WA 10.1.2:36 (here V2ª H 302), and 38–39 (here X3ᵇ H 302).

[63] Johannes Geffcken is of the opinion that the term becomes plausible only through Luther, *Der Bildercatechismus des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1855). More recent scholarship has shown this to be wrong.

[64] A. Vacant, E. Mangenot and É. Amman, eds., *Dictionaire de théologie catholique* (Paris, 1932), vol. 2, coll. 1895–1968, esp. col. 1905.

first names the different passages of the Gospels and is formatted in questions and answers:

> As the head of the family should teach it in a simple way to his household.
> Question: What is the Sacrament of the Altar?
> Answer: It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, for pastors and preachers to eat and drink instituted by Christ Himself.[65]

The illustrations of the catechisms visualize this passage in combining the two traditions of the Holy Supper in one image, as can be seen in the *Small Catechism* published by Nickel Schirlentz, a new edition of the *Small Catechism* of 1535 in Wittenberg (Fig. 10). Here the image shows the communion in both kinds, the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the bread and the wine (*ware Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi unter dem Brot und Wein*). A tympanum is depicted over the believers' heads, which combines this scene with the Last Supper, where Jesus takes a piece of bread from the dish and gives it to Judas.[66] This juxtaposition can be found in the majority of illustrated catechisms. Another iconography places the preacher in the pulpit, the congregation seated in front of him, while the sacraments of baptism and communion can be seen in the church behind him.[67]

Scholars frequently emphasize that the altarpieces of the Cranach workshop or single-leaf woodcuts and broadsheets helped to circulate the new Lutheran image of the Eucharist. The influence of illustrated printed Lutheran books such as the *Passional*, the *Postils*, and the catechisms has not been as closely studied, but many images by both well-known (Cranach, Burgkmair) and unknown artists circulated within Lutheran devotional literature long before the creation of epitaphs and altars with similar scenes. These first introduced Lutherans to ways of visualizing their liturgy.

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[65] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, A 140b.8° Helmst. (2).

[66] WA 30.1:693–694.

[67] As can be seen in the *Large Catechism* by Georg Rhau (Wittenberg, 1531), WA 35:384.

Figure 10. Anonymous, Last Supper and Lutheran Communion, in Martin Luther, *Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus*, Wittenberg (Nickel Schirlentz), 1535. (photo: HAB Luther-Katalog)

REFORMED

Andreas Gormans

Den 1. Juli wahr [...] 5. p[ost] Trin[itatis], predigte herr Rulitius de agno paschali etc. applicando esse ad actum coenae. Nach der predigt gingen wir zum tisch des herrn und haben auch erfahren die weise der niederländischen kirchen: kegen abend zu ward ein langer tisch quär durch die kirche zugerichtet, weiss gedecket, mitten drauff war auff einem teller dass brodt, länglicht geschnitten zugerichtet, an beyden enden des tisches eine zinnerne schissel und ein weiss servet zusammen gelegt darauff. Bäncke waren von beyden seiten gesetzet an den tisch in die länge. Herr Rullitius ging und setzte sich auff einen schemel, der zwischen den bäncken kegen abend zu war für ihn gesezet. Nach abgesungenen versikel aussm psalm laass er ab die Heidelbergsche agende (ziemlich geschwinde), darauff dann die herren diaconi (dass sind die dass kirchengeld bewahren und samlen) hin zur taffel gingen und sich satzten, ohngefehr ihrer 10, herr Rullitius aber das brodt brachs und theils einem und dem andern zur rechten, also auch einem und dem andern zu linken hand auss (in die hand) mitt den worten: Das brodt, das wier essen: Nehmet nun hin u[nd] esset, spricht Christus. Das ist mein leib etc. Mehr stücklein, die er gebrochen, warf er in den schissel, welche den die, denen er nichts gegeben, namen und die schissel fort zu den andern schiebten, die ihnen gleicher weise heraussgenommen. Bald kamen die diaconi u[nd] brachten in vier bechern wein (spanischen), satzten sie an vier ecken neben die tällers. Herr Rullitius aber nahm zwey und gab einen zur rechten, den andern zu lincken hand, nahm ihm selbst auch vom brodt, nachderm er den andern gegeben, wie auch hernach vom wein, mitt den worten des apostels: der kelch der dancsagung etc. Christus spricht: nehmet hin etc. Also förderte hernach den kelch einer zu dem andern. NB. keine sichtbare consecration ist nicht geschehen, wie bey uns. Wen man zu tisch geht von beyden seiten, legt an (!) ieder in gedachte schisseln unter das servet etwas hinein, darnach setzt er sich. U[nd] wan der pfarr sagt: Gehet hin im nahmen des herrn, stehen sie auff vom tisch und gehen davon. Bey wehrender communion wird nicht gesungen, sondern der vorleser (vorsinger) stehet auff seinem gewöhnlichen ort unter der cantzel bey seinem messingenen pulpet und lieset das 53. cap[itel] Esaiae, die passion ex Johanne. Doch wan der prediger redet über der ausstheilung des brodts und weins, schweigt er stille. Ich ging mitt dem herrn Comenio bald in der andere zeilen. Weil ich aber keine devotion gesehen, ward mier nicht wohl zu muth, gedacht mitt schmertzen an unsere gebreuche und ordnung in der unität. Die beste ordnung ist bey ihnen, dass gleichwol das mansvolk absonderlich geht u[nd] das frauvolck auch (denn sie sonst in der predigt ziemlich durcheinander sitzen). NB. Nach verrichtetem actu nehmen die weiber (der

> diaconorum) vom tische aber das tischtuch etc. Dass ende wird gemacht, wie in der Heidelbergschen agenda, mitt dem segen zuletzt, darauff sie denn von einander gehen. Auch ward keine deutsche vesper den tag gehalten, nur in der holländischen sprache; desswegen dann auch wier nach mittag nicht eins (!) in die kirche waren kommen, sondern blieben zu hauss.[1]

This valuable document describes in great detail the procedure of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Reformed Netherlands of the mid-1600s.[2] Surprisingly, this excerpt does not belong to a sacramental, theological, or ecclesiological treatise; it is part of a travel report. It was written by Adam Samuel Hartmann (1627–1691) who, after successfully studying rhetoric and medicine, law, and theology in Greifswald and Wittenberg, had been the principal of the academic high school in Leszno (Poland) and preacher to the local Unity of the Brethren.[3] Hartmann undertook this journey, which led him through Germany, England, Holland, and France, from 1657 to 1659, together with his brother Paul and Paul Cyrill, brother-in-law of John Amos Comenius. He set out to collect money for rebuilding the church and school of his hometown, which had been destroyed during the Swedish-Polish war on 29 April 1656.[4]

The small group set out for the young Republic, probably driven more by religious curiosity than financial hopes. They reached Amsterdam on the morning of 30 June,[5] where they paid a visit to Comenius. Only one day later, on 1 July, they heard a sermon—Domenica quinta post Trinitatis—the well-known German Protestant minister Joannes Rulicius

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[1] Rodgero Prümers, ed., *Tagebuch Adam Samuel Hartmanns, Pfarrers zu Leszno in Polen, über seine Kollektenreise durch Deutschland, die Niederlande, England und Frankreich in den Jahren 1657–1659* (Posen, 1900), pp. 80–81.

[2] See W.F. Dankbaar, *Communiegebruiken in de eeuw der Reformatie. Uitgegeven door het Instituut voor Liturgiewetenschap van de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen* (Groningen, 1986); Jan R. Luth, "Communion in the Churches of the Dutch Reformation to the Present Day," in *Bread of Heaven. Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion*, ed. Charles Caspers (Kampen, 1995), pp. 99–117.

[3] Prümers, *Tagebuch Adam Samuels Hartmanns*, p. 5.

[4] Even before the start of the voyage, in February 1657, out of solidarity the town council of Amsterdam decided to provide the parishes of Leszno with 2000 Dutch Florin, to which Amos Comenius, then a resident of the Dutch metropolis, reacted ambivalently. On the one hand, he told Hartmann and his companions in Leszno that another emissary with better credentials could indeed be sent; on the other hand, he did not expect much gain from further efforts in that vein as, so he argued, the whole Netherlands would likely not gather more than Amsterdam alone. See Prümers, ed. *Tagebuch Adam Samuel Hartmanns*, p. 6. See also "Kollekten," in *Calvinismus. Die Reformierten in Deutschland und Europa*, ed. Ansgar Reiss and Sabine Witt, Exhibition Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin and Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Emden 2009 (Dresden, 2009), pp. 366–368.

[5] Prümers, *Tagebuch Adam Samuel Hartmanns*, pp. 76–77.

gave in the English Reformed Church in the town on the Ij.[6] On that evening they took part in the Lord's Supper Hartmann described.

In great detail he names the liturgical paraphernalia that heeded the new requirements of the Reformed Christian idea of the sacrament. The distribution of the Lord's Supper in both forms called for large wine vessels, chalices, or simple cups—kept unadorned and usually of silver or pewter—big plates for bread, with which the participants were handed simple white bread instead of wafers as symbol for the body of Christ.[7] Hartmann writes of two pewter bowls, a table cloth, a white napkin, as well as one chalice, and four cups. He also mentions a table which was adorned by neither candles nor sculpture, as those were regarded as relics of the rejected piety that distracted from the actual content of the biblical word.

Besides these details and a description of the words spoken, we find hints of the place and its layout. It is difficult, however, to locate that place. It is in that part of the church that was called "wandelkerk" or changeable church, probably located in the choir,[8] certainly—so says the text—a spot within earshot of the preaching church's (preekerk) center, the pulpit (preekstoel), as otherwise the words spoken from the lectern below the pulpit during communion could not have been heard. It was temporary, set up only for the duration of the Lord's Supper.[9] There was no fixed furniture; instead, a long table was put in the middle of the church and benches were placed on both sides of it. One is reminded of Jesus' order, when he sent two of his disciples into the town to ask for that room which was to be laid out especially for the coming Passover meal.[10]

It would be misleading, however, to take the Bible as a reference for the temporary furnishing. The conditions rather suggest that the Supper was seldom celebrated. If they had gathered at the Lord's Table on a weekly basis, as in a Catholic Mass, the effort of preparing the room anew each time would hardly have been made. The infrequency of the occasion is

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[6] Prümers, *Tagebuch Adam Samuel Hartmanns*, pp. 78–79.

[7] See C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer, and W. van Os, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague, 1984), pp. 212–215; "Abendmahl," in *Calvinismus*, pp. 327–337, n. VI.18–VI.51.

[8] Van Swigchem, et al., *Een huis voor het Woord*, p. 4.

[9] See Klaus Merten, "Der Kirchenbau der Reformierten," in *Calvinismus*, pp. 296–303, here p. 296; Alfred Rauhaus, "Abendmahlstheologie und die Gestaltung des liturgischen Raums," in *Calvinismus*, pp. 304–309. On the Reformed liturgy, see Raymond Mentzer's contribution to this volume.

[10] See Matthew 26:17–19; Mark 14:12–16; Luke 22:7–13.

indeed a point to be noted. In Delft, for instance, the Lord's Supper was held three or four times a year: people gathered at Easter, Pentecost, a day of penance (a Sunday) in September, and at the feast celebrating the birth of Christ. It would hardly have been different in the English Reformed Church where Rulicius preached. More than this rarity, though, ideological reasons spoke against a permanent installation for the sacrament. Such a design, with a fixed place for the table, was hardly compatible with the Reformed Christian picture of the Lord's Supper.[11]

The Council of Trent at its thirteenth meeting on 11 October 1551 decreed that in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, after consecrating the bread and the wine, Jesus Christ as the true God and true man was really, truly, and substantially present in all things manifest;[12] the Reformed ideal of communion set itself against this categorically. One expression of this rejection can be found in the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563, a binding document for the Netherlands that gained status as an official creed at the Synod of Dordecht in 1618/1619, which is mentioned as a reference text in Hartmann's report as the "Heidelbergsche agenda." The Catechism called the Mass a "Verleugnung" (denial) and "vermaledeite Abgötterei" (accursed idolatry).[13] Behind these polemics lay, among other things, a point of view that saw the sacrament as a mere commemoration, where broken bread and wine passed round in a lay chalice symbolized the connection of Reformed Christians with Christ. Above all, the communion was no sacrificial meal in Reformed eyes.

Primarily for this reason, the temporary set-up of the room with mobile furniture was inevitable.[14] Having a fixed table, immobile, permanently present, and of stone, would have woken associations with an altar, i.e., what in Catholic churches was understood to be an elevated place of sacrifice and an indispensable part of the rite. To be avoided as well was the creation of a second focus of attention besides the pulpit and thus a bipolar layout of the room through the installation of a fixed spot for communion. An installed liturgy was antithetical to the Reformed idea of liturgy: any pomp and grandiosity Reformed Christians named papal and categorically refuted.

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[11] Joachim Staedtke, Erwin Iserloh, "Abendmahl III/3. Reformationszeit und III/4. Von 1577 bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller, vol. 1 (Berlin/New York, 1977), pp. 106–140.

[12] See Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient III, Bologneser Tagung (1547/48), Zweite Trienter Tagungsperiode (1551/52)* (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1970), pp. 338–358.

[13] *Heidelberger Katechismus* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2006), pp. 52–53, Question 80.

[14] On Reformed church interiors, see Andrew Spicer's contribution to this volume.

The aim was a distinct break with tradition, a consciously launched new beginning. Building up a denominational identity required a clear distinction in doctrine, cult, and life.[15] This new accent found its expression in the erection of large funerary monuments in exactly those spots where the main altar usually stood in churches previously used by Catholics. For instance, from 1614 to 1622, Hendrick de Keyser built the monument for William of Orange in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, where previously an altar by Pieter Aertsen had stood.[16] It was the same with churches in other cities. The monuments for William the Silent in the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, the tombstone of Michiel de Ruyter in the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam, or the free-standing tomb for Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam in the Grote Kerk of The Hague, occupied the space memorially.[17] Sacred buildings mutated into an architectural palimpsest that—heeding the changed denominational, cultic, and historical requirements of the time—was rewritten. The place of *memoria passionis et resurrectionis Jesu Christi* became a place of commemoration of the *pater patriae*, as William of Orange, who converted to Reformed Christianity in 1573, was called. In the case of the naval heroes honored for their service to their fatherland, the choir became a place of commemoration of a new national virtue, the patriotic self-sacrifice motivated by *amor patriae*. Not using a firm stone table for the Lord's Supper and the installment of elaborate funerary monuments in the choir were strategies aiming to give an old place of relevance a new meaning in the course of its sacramental and theological devaluation.

Therefore, pragmatic, but mainly denominational and historical reasons led to the renunciation of a permanently present, immobile stone table at a fixed spot. Though no traces of this sacrament can be found within the churches, it nonetheless took place.

So the question arises whether or not the celebrations of the Lord's Supper were depicted in the paintings within the churches' interior. After

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[15] See C.A. van Swigchem, *Een blik in de Nederlandse kerkgebouwen na de ingebruikneming voor de protestantse eredienst* (The Hague, 1970); Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist churches in early modern Europe* (Manchester/New York, 2007), pp. 106–165.

[16] Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck [...]* (Haerlem, 1604), fol. 244r.: "Te Delft in de Cathusers Clooster een Crucifix, van binnen op de deuren Kerst-nacht, en dry Coninghen, van buyten vier Evangelisten: s'ghelijcks t' hoogh Altaer te Delft in de nieuw Kerck, een dry Coninghen, Ecce Homo, en soo yet anders op de deuren, met veel meer ander Altaertafelen in verscheyden Steden, als te Loeven." See also David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566–1609* (New York, 1988), p. 122.

[17] See Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories. Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch tomb sculpture* (Zwolle, 2003), pp. 72–111, 144–177.

all, painted church interiors were central within the flood of paintings springing up in seventeenth-century Holland.[18] Although sacred images had disappeared from the churches, depictions of the interior of paintingless churches were done in great numbers. Did the Lord's Supper play a part in the works of Pieter Saenredam, Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, or Emanuel de Witte? In order to answer that question and comment on it further, let us investigate the views of two engravings created around 1600 that deal with the importance of the Lord's Supper in depictions of church interiors in a highly revealing manner.[19]

The depiction of the Catholic Church titled *Vera Imago Ecclesiæ papisticæ* (Fig. 1) shows the complexity of Catholic practice. Seven sacraments are located in a multi-aisled basilica, the choir of which is separated from the nave by a choir screen with a triumphal cross. The multiple aisles allow for the placement of many large retables on the altars before which the Mass is celebrated. Priests, monks, and members of religious communities reflect the hierarchical order of the papal Church.

In contrast to the grandeur of the Catholic interior, the Evangelical church interior, titled *Vera Imago veteris Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ* (Fig. 2), impresses with its emptiness. It renders what the iconoclasts wrought in Dutch church interiors during the riots of 1566,[20] which is also supposed to have caused a theologically-grounded wariness of images in the Netherlands.[21] Represented on white walls only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, remain, neither of which is integrated liturgically. They are placed in an architecture that, according to the needs of the Reformed Church, is a uniform wide room with the pulpit as the only central, firmly installed piece of furniture. It comes as no surprise that the Lord's Supper can be seen in the background of this fictitious stereogram. Its nearly exceptional worthiness depicted here is due to the task the graphic has to fulfill. Both sheets are educational pictures, whose

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[18] Walter A. Liedtke, *Architectural Painting in Delft: Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, Emanuel de Witte*, Aetas Aurea 3 (Doornspijk, 1982); Jeroen Giltaij and Guido Jansen, *Perspectives: Saenredam and the architectural painters of the 17th century*, Exhibition Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam 1991 (Wommelgem, 1991).

[19] Anonymus, *Vera Imago Ecclesiæ papisticæ | Vera Imago veteris Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ*, around 1600, copper engravings, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coll. Hennin, vol. 8, n. 727 and 728. Cf. Werner Hofmann, ed., *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst* (Munich, 1983), pp. 51–52, 355, n. 223, 224.

[20] Norbert Schnitzler, *Ikonoklasmus—Bildersturm. Theologischer Bilderstreit und ikonoklastisches Handeln während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1996), pp. 154–162.

[21] See Margarete Stirm, *Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 45 (Heidelberg, 1977).

Figure 1. "Vera Imago Ecclesiæ papisticæ," Engraver unknown, 17th Century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coll. Hennin, T. VIII, Nr. 727 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale).

truth claim is already suggestively propagated by the title *Vera Imago*. As such they juxtapose the respective sacraments in additive austerity. They are synchronic representations, in a way sacramental sums of different denominations, which were likely meant as book illustrations. Their original purpose as educational plates is indicated by the numbers on the depictions, which were probably complimented with documents that no longer exist.

The Lord's Supper, however, was never a motif in painted Dutch church interiors. Thus, it was even rarer in depictions of churches than in the churches themselves. This is, at first glance, highly surprising. One could expect that this sacrament, seldom celebrated as it was, would have been portrayed especially often in order to remain fixed in memory. The assumption that the event's rarity increased the need to have it depicted does not hold true. But what then was the reason for this absence of the Lord's Supper in church interiors of the seventeenth century? In this context, we have to refer to the church discipline (kerkelijke tucht), which

Figure 2. "Vera Imago veteris Ecclesiæ apostolicæ," Engraver unknown, 17th Century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coll. Hennin, T. VIII, Nr. 728 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale).

summarized the manifold attempts to secure ecclesiastical order and teaching.[22] Only the permanent members of the Church were subjects to this clerical discipline practiced by the consistories, which was grounded in the Gospel of Matthew and found its expression in the Heidelberg Catechism.[23] In Delft and Amsterdam, for instance, this authority was executed rather moderately. Altogether, the sanctions passed by the consistory in Holland were of a merely social nature; its disciplinary measures had no civil or legal consequences, as they had in Geneva or Scotland, for instance.[24] Still, church discipline regulated participation in the Lord's Supper. Three or four times a year, before the stipulated dates, it forced the devoted to be tested by the consistory and, in extreme cases, to be

[22] Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578–1700* (Hilversum, 1990).

[23] Matthew 18, 15–17; *Heidelberger Katechismus*, pp. 54–56, Questions 82–85.

[24] See Judith Pollmann, "Off the Record: Problems in the Quantification of Calvinist Church Discipline," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002): 423–438.

excluded from communion. Only those who let themselves be instructed in the faith—that is through sermons—professed their faith, knew the Catechism and led a "virtuous" life were allowed to partake.[25] In the Eucharist, the sinners were separated from the pious, the world from the church. The line drew the borders of the community in a socially determinable way.[26] A depiction of the sacrament would thus have made personal questions of conscience public; above all, it would have shown who was an official member of the Reformed Church and who was not. That, however, was not intended, and any transparency of the actual conditions was not publicly allowed. Instead the Republic was much more concerned with upholding an outer appearance of religious unity.[27] The depiction of the Lord's Supper was unsuitable for that purpose. Even more than within the Reformed Church itself, the image of the Church aimed at a suggestive strengthening of the communal, integrative momentum of the *ecclesia* to be constituted, understood as a consolidation of the faithful.

The striving for an all-encompassing community, which the Lord's Supper could not accomplish, also disagreed with the usual procedures of joining the Church in the Netherlands. In French Huguenot communities, one could join the Church as early as the age of twelve and thus be subject to church discipline very early on; in the Netherlands, joining the Church was often postponed until the age of 18, in order to avoid conflict with the consistories, as well as to maintain as many options as possible on the multi-denominational marriage market.[28] Furthermore, the Lord's Supper was no "gateway to heaven," as it was for Catholics; the bread was no guarantee of eternal life. Motivation to join the Reformed Church was therefore comparatively small, and the demand for the depiction of a well-attended Lord's Supper accordingly low.

Finally, the artistic interest in this subject would likely have been little as well. As an engraving from the eighteenth century depicting a Supper table temporarily installed in front of the choir screen in the middle nave of Oude Kerk in Amsterdam (Fig. 3) shows, artistic freedom was small,

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[25] See Judith Pollmann, "Freiwillige Religion in einer 'öffentlichen' Kirche: Die Anziehungskraft des Calvinismus in der Niederländischen Republik," in *Calvinismus*, p. 177.

[26] Cf. Heinold Fast, *Heinrich Bullinger und die Täufer. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie und Theologie im 16. Jahrhundert*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins 7 (Weierhof, 1959), p. 141.

[27] See Pollmann, "Freiwillige Religion," p. 177.

[28] See Pollmann, "Freiwillige Religion," p. 180.

Figure 3. Caspar Philips Jacobsz., "Lord's Supper in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam," copper engraving after a drawing by Pieter Wagenaar the Younger, in William Hurd, *Oude en tegenwoordige staat en geschiedenis van alle godsdiensten [...]*, Amsterdam 1784 (photo: author).

the ties to conventions were all the stronger.[29] Such a representation might call to mind the image of the Last Supper, in which Jesus Christ was present as a person—a depiction categorically rejected in Reformed Christianity.[30]

In order to maintain the desired appearance of unity, the painters of interiors focused solely on the cornerstone on which the Reformed faith

[29] Caspar Philips Jacobsz, Lord's Supper in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, copper engraving after a drawing by Pieter Wagenaar the Younger, in William Hurd, *Oude en tegenwoordige staat en geschiedenis van alle godsdiensten* [...], Martinus de Bruyn (Amsterdam, 1784).

[30] John Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Basel, 1536), 1.11.12. Cf. John Calvin, Otto Weber, trans. and ed., *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion. Institutio Christianae Religionis.* Nach der letzten Ausgabe von 1559 übersetzt und bearbeitet von Otto Weber. Im Auftrag des Reformierten Bundes bearbeitet und neu herausgegeben von Matthias Freudenberg (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2008).

leaned: the Word, which alone had a theological relevance.[31] The Word of God, its proclamation, and exegesis, were supposed to make the sermon the center of attention; and with the sermon, the place of its delivery—the pulpit, which Emanuel de Witte portrayed in several works, such as a painting finished in the 1660s entitled *Interior of a reformed Church with sermon* (Fig. 4).[32] In this perspective, the painted church interior assumes the point of view we have already seen in the two engravings of true and false images. The picture's foreground, clearly visible to all, shows the sermon. The background shows the Lord's Supper, distanced and set apart. As perspective accords importance, the location of events in the room gives them their significance. The number of persons assigned to each activity underlines this impression emphatically. In this ideal bipolar church interior, the sermon is given much more attention. The basic interest lies with the sermon; it is the focus of perception and the reference point for the viewer. Indeed, no event in paintings of church interiors drew more attention to it: even the important funerary monuments were depicted with smaller gatherings of people.[33] People flocked to the pulpits in huge numbers, brought together by the sermons. People of all ages and social classes were meant to be subject to the preacher's magniloquence. Among them were younger children in order to stress the relevance and continuity of religious education that the Synod of Dordrecht in November 1618 declared indispensable.[34] De Witte also includes breastfeeding mothers who indeed bring to mind the old type of *Maria lactans*,[35] but finally should point to John Calvin's favorite idea of a church growing in faith continuously.[36]

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[31] Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, 1.6.2.

[32] Emanuel de Witte, *Interior of a Church with sermon*, around 1665, oil on panel, 119.5 × 103.8 cm, Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, n. 204. See Thomas Ketelsen, *Die Niederländischen Gemälde 1500–1800*, Die Sammlungen der Hamburger Kunsthalle (Hamburg, 2001), 2: 318–319.

[33] See Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, pp. 210–231.

[34] From the outset children should be instructed in the foundations of true religion ("in de fondamenten der waare religie onderwezen en met ware godsalicheyt vervult moge worden"). See Bernhardus Kruithof, *Zonde en deugd in domineesland. Nederlandse protestanten en problemen van opvoeding zeventiende tot twintigste eeuw*, Academisch Proefschrift ter Verkrijging van de Graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam (Groningen, 1990), p. 34.

[35] See Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Introduction to Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London, 1988), pp. 573–574.

[36] Calvin, *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, 4.1.4: "Denn es gibt für uns keinen anderen Weg ins Leben hinein, als dass sie [the Church] uns in ihrem Schoße empfängt, uns gebiert, an ihrer Brust nährt und schließlich unter ihrer Hut und Leitung in Schutz nimmt,

Figure 4. Emanuel de Witte, *Reformed Church with Sermon*, ca. 1660–1670, canvas, Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. no. 204 (photo: Hamburg, Kunsthalle).

Thus the sermon, especially in ecclesiological respect, held the potential to integrate, to form communities. Its depictions were proud self-portraits of the Reformed Church. Outwardly, it provided an image of oneness and maintained the appearance of religious unity, but in reality left the inner belief untouched. If one did not know that the listeners in paintings of

bis wir das sterbliche Fleisch von uns gelegt haben und den Engeln gleich sein werden (Matt. 22:30)."

sermons might also belong to the large group of so-called *liefhebbers*, who regularly visited Reformed churches without being actual members—and thus were not officially allowed to partake in the sacrament—then the Reformed church would have to be regarded as the largest and most influential denominational group.[37] But as the painting only renders appearances, the painted sermon is no less rhetorical than the spoken one; the lines between biblical homiletics and art theory were blurred.[38]

Thus depictions of sermons delivered impressions that depictions of the Lord's Supper could not. The exegetes of the Word of God continually highlighted the mutual and connective, but not those aspects that separated, as the Lord's Supper did. In this way, paintings of sermons construct religious community as encompassing those who identify with what was said in the place of proclamation of the *verbum Domini*.[39] Places of preaching became churches where individual faithful beholders could insert themselves into the collective body of the believers. External observers could identify themselves with the congregation in the painting; perspectivally, they were asked, or at least invited, to join the group. Having no firmly installed pews, which only became common in Dutch churches during the nineteenth century,[40] also would have supported this optional participation. Listening to a sermon was tied to only one requirement, participation in the Lord's Supper. Additionally, sermons were not rare, but took place regularly twice a week. Thus, sermons on the one hand supported the Reformed Church's commitment to strive constantly for the renewal of faith and life. On the other hand, as a medium continually repeating itself to bring theological theory and practical life into concord,[41] sermons possessed all the power of influence over the inner shaping of the believers. The Church asked believers—as the distinctive figures facing away

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[37] See Pollmann, "Freiwillige Religion," pp. 176–181, esp. pp. 177–178.

[38] P.J. Schuffel, "From Minister to sacred Orator: Homiletics and Rhetoric in the seventeenth and early eighteenth Century Dutch Republic," in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. De Jong, Marc van Vaeck, Intersections 3 (Leiden/Boston, 2004), pp. 221–245.

[39] See Andreas Gormans, "perspectief / doorzicht. Formen und Spielräume bildlicher Illusion," in *Ad fontes! Niederländische Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts in Quellen*, ed. Karin Leonhard, Gregor J.M. Weber and Claudia Fritzsche (Petersberg, 2012), pp. 83–107.

[40] See Van Swigchem, et al., *Een huis voor het Woord*, pp. 90–93, 100–103, 106–117.

[41] See Albrecht Beutel, "Kommunikation des Evangeliums. Die Predigt als zentrales theologisches Vermittlungsmedium in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Kommunikation und Transfer im Christentum der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Irene Dingel und Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 74 (Mainz, 2007), pp. 3–15.

from the viewer in De Witte's sermon paintings suggest—to turn towards knowledge of God and self-awareness, just as Calvin had demanded. Only by listening to the Word, which led to obedience, could believers acquire that inner orientation that was the prerequisite for participation in the Lord's Supper.

The engravings discussed earlier also hint at the interrelation of faith and sacrament, the necessity of faith delivered only through the Word for gathering at the Lord's Table. The Codex and the two stone plates of the Decalogue appear directly above the table on the room's back wall. The faith manifested in the Book and the Law was by no means the only requirement to participate in the Lord's Supper. In a much more fundamental manner, the Book and the Law represented the Word of God; the way it was staged signaled an essential statement of its quality. By enclosing both in a frame, which marks painting since the early modern period, the word was given pictorial attributes.[42] The arrangement of the back wall, which turns out to be a programmatic *imago*, thus points towards the still unspecific sensuality of the Word in general. The substantial reference point of Reformed faith, the Word, becomes worthy of depiction. Art is shown to be indispensable for conveying truths of faith in every Christian religion; truths could all only be imparted medially. This held true for Reformed Christianity.[43] So images should be assigned an important role in Reformed Christianity as well. Even if a comparison of Dutch and Flemish depictions of the five senses between 1580 and 1670 suggests a largely Evangelical appreciation of the ear and a Catholic preference for the eye,[44] the manifestations of the senses of hearing and seeing were both expressed in the medium of painting.

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[42] See Hans Holländer, "Bild, Vision und Rahmen," in *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen. Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen 1984*, ed. Joerg O. Fichte, Karl Heinz Göller, and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Berlin/New York, 1986), pp. 71–94.

[43] Paul Corby Finney, ed., *Seeing beyond the Word. Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, 1999); William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture. The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge, 2004); Christopher Richard Joby, *Calvinism and the Arts. A Re-Assessment, Studies in Philosophical Theology* (Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA, 2007); Ilja M. Veldman, "Der Calvinismus und die bildende Kunst der Niederlande im Goldenen Jahrhundert," in *Calvinismus*, pp. 270–278.

[44] See Justus Müller Hofstede, "'Non Saturatur Oculus Visu'—Zur 'Allegorie des Gesichts' von Peter Paul Rubens und Jan Brueghel d. Ä.," in *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hermann Vekeman and Justus Müller Hofstede (Erftstadt, 1984), pp. 268–271.

For Reformed Christians, too, the Word, through which alone God was revealed, was to be conveyed and remembered in images. The Incarnation, the revelation of God, was the archetypal image of this axiom. Calvin, however, did not hold that the Incarnation of God could be read as an Incarnation in image. To him, the wisdom and greatness of God did not show in any image of his son, but in the magnificence of the Lord's sensual creation; it was the visible image of the invisible God.[45] Although the sensuality of the Word contained decidedly more than just its visibility, it nonetheless formed a starting point for a sensualization of the Word, which could not have been more imaginative than in the Netherlands of the Golden Age.

The beginning of that sensualization was marked by writing tablets (kerkborden), such as one from 1581 showing the text of the Last Supper (avondmaalsbord) in the apex of the inner choir in Haarlem's Bavokerk.[46] No cultic reenactment of the Supper, no painting full of figures, but an image of the text of the event recalls the beginning of Christ's Passion. Comparable to that are plates showing the text of the Ten Commandments (tiengebodenbord), which replaced earlier triumphal crosses on the choir screens, to point out the connection between the Old and New Testaments.[47] They all firmly rely on the power of the image without violating the biblical Commandment. Whereas Calvin stresses their medial significance,[48] these plates are the best-known variations of a much larger material religious cult in the Netherlands, where golden letters, calligraphic finesse, and valuable frames became visible signs of the *sanctitas* of the *verbum Domini*.[49]

Following the primacy of the sense of sight, the remaining senses, too, were meant to serve an immediate religious experience. In a painting by Rembrandt from 1631, presumably showing the prophet Hannah and known by the name *Rembrandt's Mother*, the artist lets the old woman's hand move over the page of a mystically shining bible, as if some substantial quality of the Holy Scripture was to be experienced by touch, as if the delicate feeling-out of the script could evoke a literally palpable

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[45] Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, 2.6.1.

[46] See Van Swigchem, et al., *Eeen huis voor het Woord*, pp. 268–281.

[47] See Van Swigchem, et al., *Eeen huis voor het Woord*, pp. 278–279.

[48] Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, 1.6.2.

[49] Mia M. Mochizuki, "The Quandary of the Dutch Reformed Church Masters," in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of religious Belief*, ed. Gelderblom et al., pp. 141–163; Mia Mochizuki, "The Dutch text painting," in *Word & Image* 23 (2007): 72–88; Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot, 2008).

heightening of what is read (Fig. 5).[50] Compared to the idea of an internalizing eating eye and thus to the Eucharist, the still life with fruit on the doors of a lockable ebony cupboard, which held probably the most

Figure 5. Rembrandt Harmensz.van Rijn, *Old Reading Woman*, 1631, panel, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 3066 (photo: Amsterdam Rijksmuseum).

[50] Rembrandt, *Old Woman Reading*, 1631. Oil on panel, 59.8 × 47.7 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. See Sabine Schulze, ed., *Leselust. Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer*, Exhibition Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt 1993 (Stuttgart, 1993), n. 69, pp. 276–729.

important painted sermon of Emanuel de Witte,[51] points at the promised association of the spoken word of the sermon with the inner ear, which is only stimulated when opening the cupboard, allowing one to view the preacher in the pulpit. This combination of still life and painted sermon evokes the idea of a *ruminatio*. It asks the observer to eat the Word of God like a delicacy, to internalize it in that way, to keep it lastingly in one's heart, as the place of remembrance, there to be constantly available. The Word of God, to put it differently, could be seen, touched and, apparently, even tasted. Seeing, touching, and tasting thus serve the Word's internalization. In these metaphors of sensual internalization, "Hannah's hand" is shown as a membrane; eyes and mouth are gateways, so to say, through which Christ in the form of the Word could enter a faithful believer.

The at once most obvious but so far somewhat neglected "gateway" was the ear, which Rembrandt—again under the primacy of sight—referred to in his 1641 large scale *The Mennonite Minister Cornelis Claesz. Anslo in Conversation with his Wife, Aaltje Gerritsdr. Schouten* in a unique manner.[52] If you wanted to see Anslo, the Dutch poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel wrote, you had to hear him.[53] The topos-like struggle for the supremacy of the senses to which van den Vondel, among other things, alludes, and to which Rembrandt possibly reacted with his painting, was won by the painter. He made the active gesture of the preacher complementary to his open mouth, a means to make the verbal expression come alive, while the seated wife at his side, who listens with a slight tilt of her head, makes the word audible.[54]

This perceptibility of the Word in the example of a single painting of a preacher was finally lifted to society as a whole in the sermon paintings of Emanuel de Witte. Following some single sermon depictions by Pieter Saenredam that came before, de Witte in his paintings transformed the actual places of sermon—which were actually places of listening to the Word—into "Stages of the Word" where the word can be seen and

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[51] Emanuel de Witte, *Interior of the Oude Kerk at Delft during a sermon*, 1651. Oil on panel, 60.5 × 44 cm, London, Wallace Collection, P254. See Stephen Duffy and Jo Hedley, *The Wallace Collection's Pictures. A complete Catalogue* (London, 2004), pp. 489–90.

[52] Rembrandt, *The Mennonite Minister Cornelis Claesz. Anslo in Conversation with his Wife, Aaltje Gerritsdr. Schouten*, 1641, oil on canvas, 173.7 × 207.6 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. See *Rembrandt. Genie auf der Suche* (Köln, 2006), n. 31, pp. 300–303.

[53] J.A. Emmens, "Ay Rembrant, maal Cornelis stem," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 7 (1956): 133–165; Werner Busch, "Zu Rembrandts Anslo-Radierung," *Oud Holland* 86 (1971): 196–199.

[54] See Kerstin Wittmann-Englert, "Die Sprache der Hand: Neue Erkenntnisse zum Doppelporträt des Mennonitenpredigers Cornelis Claesz. Anslo und seiner Frau Aeltje Gerritse Schouten (1641)," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* N.F. 47 (2005): 149–157.

metaphorically devoured by the inner ear of the viewer. This was a double medial transfer, both for the medium and its mediator: the sermon became an image of a sermon, the painting which made the sermon audible turned the painter into a preacher and priest at the same time. Thus the question of the preacher's identity in de Witte's sermon in the Wallace Collection in London no longer just refers to the most famous exponents of this trade in Delft around 1650. What is depicted there is neither just the sermon of Dionysius Spranckhuysen, nor the one of Samuel van Doreslaer.[55] It is first and primarily the "sermon" of Emanuel de Witte, the sermon of the painter. This is in no way limited to a mere rendering of the general conditions by locating the sermon in space and socially contextualizing it. Strictly speaking, his sermon paintings also make the substance visible. The name "sermon," which was common for de Witte's sermon depictions in seventeenth-century inventories, could not imply the whole transferability of the educational-moralizing impetus typical of sermons to the painting. As a figure painter with fine perception, de Witte in his sermons indeed documents the range of their possible interpretations, but without denying the joy of depicting extreme forms of reception. By including the woman sitting right next to the pulpit on a folding chair, deeply immersed in reading a book, as well as a man overcome by sleep in the pew, the painter does not comment on a particular Bible passage and its inherent admonishing. He makes the heard word visible and demonstrates its immediate effect, recognizable in the figures' reactions. So de Witte, too, takes on the role of a preacher who mainly "wrote" his edifying views on the adequate form of reception of a sermon.

In this vein, painting to him is preaching with a brush, just as the Amsterdam poet and glazier Jan Vos (1610–1667) puts it in a poem dedicated to Catharina Hooft, wife of Cornelis de Graaf, and published in an anthology in 1662/71. In Michelangelo's "Last Judgment," says Vos, a sermon is held with two brushes; one teaching through sight, the other through the ear, with the eye having preference over the ear.[56] With regard to the sermon's effect, de Witte should have the last word. The impression he

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[55] See Samuel van Doreslaer, *Predikatie over De woorden II. Regum IV. I. Gepast Op de Dood van De Eeweerdige Godsalige hoogh-geleerde Dionijsius Sprankhuisen* [...], Symon Cloeting (Delft, 1650; repr., Rumpt, 20000), therein P.H.A.M. Abels, "Dionysius Spranckhuysen, Samuel van Doreslaer en de Reformatie te Delft: Een Poging tot Positie-Bepaling," pp. 3–69.

[56] "... Hier preekt men door penseelen: / D' een leert ons door gezicht, en d' ander door 't gehoor. / Het oog gaat hier voor 't oor," cited in Jan Vos, *Alle de Gedichten [...]* (Amsterdam, 1726), vol. 1, pp. 351–352. See Gregor J.M. Weber, *Der Lobtopos des "lebenden"*

wanted to impart with his specific imaginative language in many similarly structured sermon paintings lastingly and suggestively, was that of a seeming denominational unity; of a Church that pretended to be in a phase of consolidation; of a Church that served as a place of religious self-assurance and as an indispensable counterpart to a domestic catechesis rich in variations. At the time when de Witte subjected all these constants to a theatrical lighting on his canvas, the words of the preachers and thus the *vox Domini*, which was the actual food of faith and formed the prerequisite for partaking in the never-depicted Lord's Supper, had long since faded away in the high arches of the Gothic churches.

Bildes: Jan Vos und sein "Zeege der Schilderkunst" von 1654, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 67 (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, 1991), pp. 246–249.

PART FIVE

THE EUCHARIST AND SOUND

THE SOUNDS OF EUCHARISTIC CULTURE

Alexander J. Fisher

In the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Eucharist—the definition and significance of which was so contested among the confessional churches—lay at the center of a sensuous nexus of sight, touch, and taste. The representation of the Eucharist in sound proliferated in contexts of both liturgy and devotion. Sound was and is an evanescent, yet powerful medium for the articulation of religious ideas and the very production of sacred space itself. In Catholic regions, music and sound not only aurally decorated the eucharistic ritual itself, but they were also deployed as a means of representing the triumph of eucharistic ideology over its confessional antagonists. Musical elaboration of the eucharistic ritual existed as well in the Lutheran and Reformed faiths, although its altered role and significance led to a less distinctive role for eucharistic music.

This essay explores the aural dimensions of eucharistic culture in several facets, beginning with the role of music in medieval Masses and developments in eucharistic music in the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. We shall see that the post-Tridentine church placed a marked emphasis on eucharistic culture and music, as the celebrant's physical elevation of the host and chalice increasingly became the moment for significant music; moreover, composers in Catholic lands—especially those in the confessional borderlands north of the Alps—ever more frequently set eucharistic texts for liturgy and devotion. Having addressed these musical repertories, we will turn to the aural elaboration of the Eucharist in the context of sacramental devotions, confraternities, processions, and pilgrimages, all activities that characterized lay and official devotion in the age of Catholic reform. It is impossible to encompass the full range of sonic expressions in all parts of early modern Europe, so in what follows I shall focus more intently on eucharistic music in the confessional borderlands of central Europe, where the theological stakes of eucharistic culture were arguably the greatest. Some selected musical developments of note in France and Italy, however, will offer a more holistic context for music in early modern eucharistic culture.

Music and Eucharistic Liturgy

The essential structure of the Mass and the position of the eucharistic ritual within it had been established by around 700, when the *Ordo romanus I* outlined the solemn Pontifical Mass. Broadly speaking, the first part of the Mass—the "Fore-Mass" or "Mass of the Catechumens"—revolved around scriptural readings amplified by musically elaborate chants with their origins in responsorial psalmody (Gradual, Alleluia), while the "Mass of the Faithful" was devoted to the eucharistic celebration. Here we find specific chants for the offering and preparation of wine and leavened bread (Offertory), for the conclusion of the Preface and the beginning of the eucharistic prayer (Sanctus), for the fraction of the consecrated host (Agnus Dei), and for the distribution to the faithful (Communion). The chants of the Mass may be distinguished in several ways: according to whether they are variable according to the feast day (Proper) or fixed (Ordinary); whether they are performed "directly" by the choir, "antiphonally" by alternating halves of the choir, or "responsorially" by the choir alternating with a soloist; and whether they adhere to a simple, syllabic style or exhibit elaborate melismatic flourishes—i.e., lengthy passages of music sung to individual syllables of the text, generally intended for soloists.

The Sanctus was one of the oldest parts of the Latin Mass and is believed to have been present at the eucharistic prayer earlier than the fifth century. Its text, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Your glory, Hosanna in the highest; Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest," is drawn from Isaiah 6:3 and projects an earthly representation of angelic song in God's praise.[1] Originally the Sanctus is thought to have been a congregational acclamation, but plainchant melodies for a trained choir—often in a moderately ornate or neumatic style—are known to have been composed in monastic contexts from the tenth century onward, with some 270 distinct melodies surviving today. By the sixteenth century at the latest, the Benedictus portion of the chant ("Blessed is he who comes in the name of Lord") was separated from its parent Sanctus and began at the moment of consecration (in Anglican usage the Benedictus would be omitted entirely from 1552 onward). At an early stage, the Sanctus text was also incorporated into

[1] For an overview of the history of the Sanctus, see Richard Crocker and David Hiley, "Sanctus," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 27, 2012, www.oxfordmusiconline.com; more extensive discussion of the early history of the Sanctus may be found in Bryan D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge, 1991).

the *Te Deum laudamus*, the great hymn of thanksgiving which in Catholic liturgy is heard at Matins on Sundays and feast days. In the early modern era, the *Te Deum* in turn was frequently deployed as a song of victory and as a representation of princely majesty, the "Sanctus" text linking the veneration of Christ's body with that of the Christian ruler.[2] Distinctive plainchant Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi exist as early as the mid-thirteenth century, and some elements of the liturgy may be contemporary with the life of Juliana of Liège, whose petitions eventually led to the Feast's establishment in the Latin Rite in 1264. Early versions of the Corpus Christi Propers stemming from Liège, Rome, the Cistercians, the Premonstratensians, and the Benedictines were eventually standardized.[3] A number of parts from the Mass and Office Propers for the feast were later commonly set in polyphonic versions: notable is the *Missa Pange lingua* by Josquin des Prez (c. 1450–1521), a Mass Ordinary setting that paraphrases the hymn tune imitatively in its four voices; also worthy of mention are the Magnificat antiphon *O quam suavis est* and the Matins Responsory *Ego sum panis vitae*, found in settings by Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594), Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594), Giovanni Gabrieli (c. 1555–1612), Lodovico Viadana (c. 1560–1627), and many other composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Returning to the Ordinary of the Mass, polyphonic settings of the Sanctus, generally as part of full settings of the five principal movements of the Mass Ordinary (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei), were typically characterized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by a clear division between the Sanctus and Benedictus: the full texture of the Sanctus (for between four and six voices in most cases) was often balanced by a Benedictus setting for fewer voices, and the music for "Hosanna in excelsis Deo" was generally repeated for its second statement, leading to an overall musical form of ABCB. As part of a cyclic setting of the Mass Ordinary, the Sanctus partook in all of the principal techniques of Renaissance-era composition, including the quotation of a borrowed melody (*cantus firmus*) in a single voice, the paraphrase of a borrowed melody (usually from plainchant) in all voices, and the wholesale modeling of the texture on a

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[2] As Kate van Orden notes in *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago, 2005), pp. 138–139.

[3] On the early history of the Propers for Corpus Christi, see especially Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts, eds., *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, PA, 2006), esp. pp. 57–76. The legendary role of St Thomas Aquinas in composing items of the Office—including the well-known Vespers hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi*—remains unclear.

preexisting polyphonic motet (a composition on a text, usually sacred, but without a necessary liturgical position), madrigal (a secular composition in Italian), or chanson (a secular composition in French), a technique variously called "parody" or "imitation." The Mass Ordinary including the Sanctus was an essential musical expression for most composers of the later fifteenth century onward, including such luminaries as Johannes Ockeghem (c. 1410–1497), Antoine Busnoys (c. 1430–1492), Jacob Obrecht (c. 1457–1505), Josquin des Prez, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, and Orlando di Lasso.

The celebration of the Eucharist was a focus of theological contestation in the Reformation era, which led to both liturgical and musical differences in main confessional churches. Martin Luther's rejection of the Mass as a sacrifice led to the deletion of the Offertory and most of the Canon, retaining only the singing of the *Verba testamenti* [Words of Institution].[4] Like many other elements of the Mass, the Sanctus, which fell between the Preface and the Canon and traditionally had a proximate relationship to the consecration of bread and wine, was soon displaced by a German congregational chorale, *Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah* [It happened to the Prophet Isaiah], Luther's reworking of a Hussite communion hymn. While Lutheran composers in later generations did set the German Sanctus and other Christological chorales such as *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* [Jesus Christ, our Savior], eucharistic music per se was never a truly distinctive focus of musical activity.[5] In the Reformed Church, music in the divine service was largely limited to the congregational singing of Psalms translated into the vernacular and provided with monophonic melodies in simple rhythms—so-called "metrical" Psalms. Rubrics in early metrical psalters that appeared in the Reformed church indicate that Psalms may be sung for the ritual of communion, but do not specify individual items; the later seventeenth century, however, saw the publication of selections from the Psalter suitable for the eucharistic meal.[6] In England, John

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[4] On Luther and his views of the Eucharist and its role in the Mass, see especially Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge, 2006), chap. 3, pp. 94–138.

[5] Note, however, the ongoing provision of music during the distribution of communion, which has been linked to Johann Sebastian Bach's chorale partitas. See Albert Clement, "Die lutherische Tradition der Musica sub Communione und J. S. Bachs Choralpartitenschaffen," *Musik und Gottesdienst* 45 (1991): 61–70. For commentary on Luther's *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*, see Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 305.

[6] For example, the Calvinist manual *La forme des prieres Ecclesiastiques* (Geneva, 1552), p. 41, states that "Ce faict, les Ministres distribuent le pain & le calice au peuple,

Merbecke's *The booke of Common praier noted* (1550) provided simplified chant forms for the Anglican service, but the authoritative 1552 edition of the Book of Common Prayer largely omits explicit singing from the communion service altogether.[7]

The Council of Trent's affirmation in 1551 of the doctrines of real presence and transubstantiation led to a marked reemphasis of the eucharistic sacrifice, together with its musical embellishment, as the central moment in divine worship. As the elevation of the consecrated host and the chalice before the eyes of the assembled congregation assumed greater importance during this period, this event was increasingly adorned with additional forms of music that coincided with or substituted for the performance of the Sanctus and/or the Benedictus.[8] One precedent came from the Sforza court at Milan, which had seen a distinctive tradition of polyphonic motets for individual sections of the Mass in the late fifteenth century—the so-called *Motetti missales*—cultivated by composers such as Loyset Compère (1445–1518), Gaspar van Weerbeke (c. 1445–after 1516), and even the famed Josquin des Prez. Josquin's motet-cycle *Vultum tuum* and the motet *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia* emphasize long-held chords and clear text declamation, both characteristic features of the Milanese elevation motet.[9] In Rome, late sixteenth-century diaries from the Sistine Chapel indicate that motets were performed during the Offertory, elevation, and at the conclusion of the Mass.[10] The impetus to adorn the elevation musically might also be discerned in the considerable number of eucharistic and Christological motets for few voices and organ bass composed

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ayan adverty qu'on y viene avec reverence, & par ordre. Cependant on chante quelques Pseaumes, ou on lit quelque chose de l'Escriture, convenable à ce qui est signifié par le sacrement." Contrast this with the small selection of Psalms offered for communion in the *Recueil des Pseaumes qui se chantent aux jours de la S. Cene*, first published at Geneva in 1666. For discussion, see Christian Grosse, *Les rituels de la Cène: le culte eucharistique réformé à Genève (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Geneva, 2008), p. 161.

[7] On Anglican musical practice, see Robin Leaver, "The Prayer Book 'Noted,'" in *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford, NY, 2006), pp. 39–43.

[8] A general overview of music for the elevation may be found in John Caldwell and Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Elevation," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 3, 2012, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[9] On Josquin's contributions to this genre, see Jeremy Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 35 (1985): 9–31, esp. 16–18. It is unclear whether Josquin composed *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia* during his time in Milan between 1484 and 1489.

[10] Anthony Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 43–59, here 45.

by Italian musicians in the early seventeenth century, and which filtered into the north by means of anthologies. Highly affective compositions on texts like *O salutaris hostia* and *O sacrum convivium* are commonly encountered in contemporary publications by Giovanni Francesco Anerio (c. 1567–1630), Agostino Agazzari (c. 1580–c. 1642), Alessandro Grandi (1586–1630), and many others.[11]

The 1600 Roman *Caeremoniale* allows the use of "grave and soft" organ music at the elevation, confirming another aural dimension to this ritual act that evidently had previously been practiced for a considerable period of time.[12] Adriano Banchieri (*L'organo suonarino*, 1605) writes that in Italian practice, brief organ versets during the Sanctus were followed by a lengthier composition performed during and after the consecration of the host. A high point was reached in the lengthy and elaborate organ toccatas of Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643), who spent much of his career in Rome as organist at St. Peter's Basilica. These works range from the multivalent, sectional elevation toccatas of his *Secondo libro di toccate* [...] (Rome, 1627) to the more concise and continuous toccatas of the *Fiori musicali* (Venice, 1637). Not infrequently these toccatas are thought to exude a certain concentrated and meditative quality that enhanced the ritual moment.[13]

Frescobaldi may well have influenced his student Johann Jakob Froberger (1616–1667), who as imperial court organist also composed two toccatas *Da sonarsi alla Levatione* that were copied into a 1649 manuscript. By 1700 solo sonatas, trio sonatas, and ensemble sonatas for string instruments were also commonly heard at the elevation in Italian services. In France, the hymn *O salutaris hostia* had accompanied the elevation in the *chapelle royale* at least from the early sixteenth century forward, and a polyphonic setting by Claudin de Sermisy (c. 1490–1562), a musician in

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[11] Notable among the northern anthologies are the three volumes of *Promptuarii musici* by Johannes Donfrid (Strasbourg, 1622, 1623, 1627), which provide a wide selection of small-scale Latin motets arranged by liturgical relevance. The eucharistic motets relating to the Feast of Corpus Christi are found in the second volume (1623) and include numerous settings, for example, of *O sacrum convivium, O salutaris hostia, Ego sum panis vivus, O quam suavis est*, and other texts, all set for small vocal ensembles and organ bass.

[12] See overviews by Edward Higginbottom, "Organ music and the liturgy," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 133–135, and also "Organ mass," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 5, 2012, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, upon which much of the material in this paragraph is based.

[13] See Alexander Silbiger's discussion in his *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2004), pp. 274–275.

royal service, was printed in 1546. Elevation music flourished especially in the seventeenth century. Pierre Perrin (c. 1620–1675), a musician in royal service, wrote that the king's *messe basse solennelle* (Low Mass) regularly featured a *petit motet* for the elevation, and indeed he wrote a number of such works himself. Further contributions to this genre were made in the 48 modest and gentle elevation motets by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704), the collection *Elévations et motets à voix seule* (1695) for female convents by Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730), and the well-known *Tierce en taille* section of the *Messe pour les couvents* by François Couperin (1668–1733). By this time in the French tradition both the Sanctus and Benedictus were subject to the *alternatim* practice of alternating plainchant with organ, the latter sounding for the initial "Sanctus" statement and again for the entire length of the Benedictus, during which the elevation took place.

Thus far I have mentioned music demonstrably associated with the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy, but more striking in Catholic areas is the appearance, beginning around the turn of the seventeenth century, of eucharistic music in distinctive printed collections that would have been suitable for both liturgical and devotional settings. Doubtless the promotion of eucharistic culture as a symbol of confessional controversy accounts for much of this activity, which seems concentrated along the confessional frontiers of the north. Especially notable is the music of the priest and organist Gregor Aichinger (c. 1564–1628), a devoted Catholic who spent the balance of his career in the biconfessional city of Augsburg during a time when confessional expressions and tensions were peaking. To the new Corpus Christi Confraternity in that city he dedicated his *Solennia augustissimi Corporis Christi* (1606), a collection of liturgical music for Vespers, Mass, and processions on that Feast, scored for five voices in a traditional contrapuntal style. Far more modern and Italianate are the sacred concertos of his *Corolla Eucharistica* (1621), dedicated to the imperial monastery of SS. Ulrich & Afra, where he served as organist. Here a series of texts (some liturgical, some devotional) on both eucharistic and Marian themes are set in a virtuosic idiom for two or three solo voices with organ bass accompaniment.[14] In the Bavarian capital of Munich, arguably the nerve-center of the northern Counter-Reformation, there appeared the *Ad sacrum convivium* (1617) of Rudolph di Lasso (1563–1625), dedicated

[14] On these collections, see Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 144–149, 186–189.

to the Archconfraternity of Corpus Christi based at St. Peter's in Munich. These modern concerti for two to six voices and organ bass were intended not only for the Feast of Corpus Christi itself, but also for any divine service honoring the sacrament. A characteristically florid excerpt may be seen in Lasso's setting of the Augustinian hymn "Ecce hostia sancta" for two solo tenors and organ bass:[15]

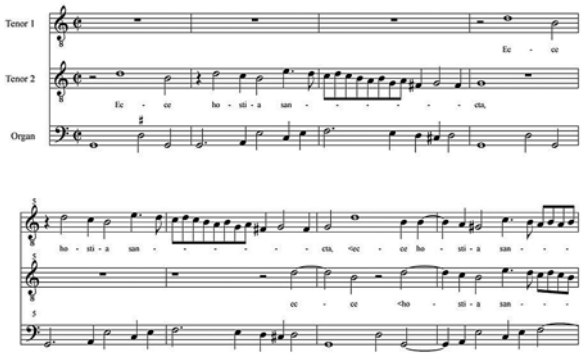

Figure 1. Rudolph di Lasso, "Ecce hostia sancta" from *Ad sacrum convivium* (Munich, 1617) [excerpt].

Ecce hostia sancta [...] Behold the holy Host [...]

Peter Philips (c. 1560–1628), an English Catholic who served the archducal court of Albert and Isabella at Brussels, made an even more explicitly confessionalist gambit. Philips' swansong, the *Paradisus sacris cantionibus consitus* (1628), is also in the modern Italianate idiom of one to three solo voices with organ accompaniment, and provides over one hundred settings of liturgical and devotional texts. The emphasis, however, lies squarely on lengthy eucharistic prose texts drawn from the *Hebdomada Eucharistica* (1614), a devotional manual by the English Jesuit Richard Stanihurst, also in exile in Brussels. This complex of texts and music was but one facet of a larger concentration on eucharistic culture and propaganda, extending to literature, the visual arts, and devotional culture, that characterized the

[15] Transcription mine, from Rudolph di Lasso, *Ad sacrum convivium modi sacri, novi et selecti, primum senis, mox binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis ac demum iterum senis vocibus* (Munich: Nikolaus Heinrich, 1617); partbooks at Bischöfliches Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, A.R. 358, and at the Bibliothèque Musicale, Grand Séminaire, Union Sainte Cécile, Strasbourg.

religious ideology of the Brussels court.[16] Common to all of the music by Philips, Lasso, Aichinger, and others is an engagement with the affective resources of modern Italianate composition, but also the retention of the Latin language, a reflection of the some of the explicitly liturgical connections in these collections as well as an outward symbol of Catholic tradition and authority.

Music and the Contexts of Eucharistic Devotion: Confraternities, Expositions, Processions, and Pilgrimage

As Aichinger's *Solennia augustissimi Corporis Christi* and Lasso's *Ad sacrum convivium* suggest, confraternities devoted to the Sacrament were a congenial home for eucharistic music. The number of such groups burgeoned in the atmosphere of post-Tridentine devotion, and were important conduits for eucharistic devotional culture between elites and commoners. While these groups preserved some of the traditional charitable functions of late medieval brotherhoods—the proper burial of members, for example, and the care of widows and widowers—they were increasingly subject to close clerical oversight and became powerful instruments for the inculcation of confessional discipline and ideology. Highly-placed individuals founded sacramental confraternities, local bishops confirmed them, and the more active missionary orders promoted them. The Archconfraternity of Corpus Christi at the parish of St. Peter's in Munich, for example, was confirmed in 1609 at the initiative of the Wittelsbach dukes Wilhelm V and Maximilian I, and its devotions were shaped by the Capuchin monks who occupied that church's pulpit.[17] Despite their explicit clerical control, eucharistic confraternities experienced remarkable growth after 1600, registering many thousands of men and women who partook of regular devotional gatherings, marched in Corpus Christi and other sacramental processions, and went on regular pilgrimages to eucharistic shrines.

The music performed or heard by sacramental confraternities was likely diverse in character and depended greatly on the available financial resources and the level of musical literacy among their membership.

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[16] See Kerry McCarthy, "Philips' 1628 *Paradisus* and the Triumph of the Eucharist," *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011): 447–458.

[17] On this group, see especially Dieter J. Weiss, *Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft bei St. Peter. Ein Beitrag zur altbayerischen Kirchen- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte* (Munich, 1990).

A common site for musical elaboration was the ceremony for the registration of new members or for the election of new officers. A set of 1645 statutes for the Munich archconfraternity, for example, specifies that on these occasions the dean or another priest is to display the host in a monstrance, and a "motet of the Venerable Sacrament" is to be performed. A sermon would then be followed by a performance of the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* or a litany.[18] The performance of few-voiced concerti from Lasso's *Ad sacrum convivium*, dedicated to the leaders and membership of this same group, is an intriguing possibility.[19] More common in confraternal contexts may have been the collective singing of eucharistic or Christological songs in the vernacular, of which increasing numbers were being published in Catholic songbooks by the turn of the seventeenth century. Particularly common in Germany were vernacular translations of liturgical eucharistic plainsong: *Mein Zung erkling und fröhlich sing* for the hymn *Pange lingua, Lobe Sion deinen Herren* for the sequence *Lauda Sion salvatorem, Der zart Fronleichnam der ist gut* for the hymn *Ave vivens hostia*, and so forth. In each case a relatively simple melody was easily memorized, then deployed for multiple stanzas in succession.

Also common in confraternal gatherings was the recitation of sacramental litanies, whose texts were commonly included in books of statutes and devotional manuals. Consisting of long chains of invocations to the Eucharist alternating with static collective responses of "miserere nobis" [have mercy upon us], "libera nos Domine" [free us, Lord], and the like, the litany could range from simple speech or recitation to monophonic melodies, formulas in simple polyphony (*falsobordone*), or full-blown contrapuntal works for trained choirs. The litany, then, was highly adaptable to contexts where literacy, musical and otherwise, could vary widely. A bellwether collection of litanies was the *Thesaurus litaniarium* (1596) by Georg Victorinus, music director for the Munich Jesuits. This "treasury" of sixty-seven polyphonic litanies begins with a group of ten settings devoted to the sacrament and the Name of Jesus, ranging in style from pieces with monophonic intonations and simple polyphonic cadential responses on the one hand, to large-scale compositions for eight voices divided into balanced choirs on the other.

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[18] A copy of these statutes, issued by bishop Veit Adam of Freising, are preserved at the Stadtarchiv München, Kirchen- und Kultusstiftungen 959, 8r–v.

[19] Axel Beer has argued for the employment of such small-scale concerti in confraternal devotions more generally in *Die Annahme des 'stile nuovo' in der katholischen Kirchenmusik Süddeutschlands* (Tutzing, 1989), pp. 132–135.

Sacramental confraternities were by no means absent from Catholic lands farther from the confessional frontier, although their profile may have been less conspicuous relative to other brotherhoods. In Venice such groups arose in the early sixteenth century in response to burgeoning devotion to the Eucharist, and by the end of the century a *Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento* was present in nearly every parish church, embracing a diverse membership. Devotional activities were centered on processions (on Corpus Christi, naturally, as well as Good Friday) and regular expositions of the host, which by 1700 became a time for elaborate musical performances involving voices as well as instruments. The *scuola grande* of San Rocco, though not a sacramental confraternity per se, is also known to have hired musicians for semi-annual expositions of the sacrament through the mid-seventeenth century (on expositions and the Forty Hours' Devotion, see below).[20] It is likely that many, if not most, parishes in other Italian cities hosted sacramental confraternities as well, each of which could engage musicians for Corpus Christi, sacramental expositions, and other occasions.[21] The variable preservation of archival records from confraternities often prevents detailed conclusions about musical repertory.

Confraternities were also active participants in the Forty Hours Devotion (known in Italy as the *Quarant'ore*), the continuous, collective prayer before the exposed host, often prescribed during times of penitence and perceived communal peril. Church control over the display of the sacrament naturally meant that these devotions were mandated by local clergy and controlled in hierarchical and programmatic ways. Typically the individual hours of these devotions were apportioned to various groups—higher clergy and nobility, guilds and confraternities, religious orders, laypersons, and so forth—who were invited to appear in turn. The Forty Hours' Devotion appears to have been observed first in Milan by 1527 and in Rome by the 1550s at the initiative of Philip Neri. In the latter city the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity spearheaded its use. The group's statutes from 1578 specify a sung Matins of the Virgin on the first evening, and the seven Penitential Psalms and other prayers on the second. A description of the *Quarant'ore* at the Gesù in Rome from 1594 indicates that the devotion began and ended with Masses, processions (likely accompanied by

[20] See Jonathan E. Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 174, 196, 211.

[21] For the case of Milan, for example, see Robert Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (Oxford, 2002), p. 84.

litanies or other music), and involved the singing of hymns and litanies.[22] The quick spread of the Forty Hours' Devotion led Clement VIII to issue an "Instructio Clementina" in 1592 strictly regulating the ceremony, allowing for sung Masses and processions with sanctoral litanies at the beginning and end of the devotion. As in Rome, Venice saw the organization of the Forty Hours' Devotion as a perpetual prayer in the seventeenth century, distributed among different churches so that it was observed throughout the year. Here the *Scuole del Santissimo Sacramento* played a prominent role in the musical decoration of the ceremony, particularly at its beginning.[23]

Clement's "Instructio" likely served as a template for the devotion in the Catholic lands to the north, but there was notable local variation. A 1594 episcopal ordinance for the cathedral of Augsburg suggests that more elaborate music could be deployed in some circumstances. In that year bishop Johann Otto von Gemmingen called for the Forty Hours' Devotion as a means of averting God's wrath and the "bloodthirsty Turks" in particular. The opening hour of the devotion was to include sung versicles, the hymn *O salutaris hostia*, the responsory *Emendemus in melius*, the seven Penitential Psalms, as well as litanies. The devotion was to be concluded with an Office for the Blessed Virgin, a sung Litany of Loreto, and the eucharistic hymn *Ecce panis angelorum*. Two of the forty hours were assigned to the "chapel master with his students and choirboys, along with the church's lay instrumentalists," although it is unclear whether the ensemble was asked to perform music or simply to pray silently before the host.[24]

More frequent and characteristic in Catholic lands, perhaps, was the appropriation of urban space through sacramental processions, during which the host in its monstrance was prominently displayed and accompanied by all manner of persons, lay and clerical, with a variety of aural and visual media. Grand processions on the Feast of Corpus Christi were festal high points throughout the Catholic world. A sense of the richness and variety of music in Corpus Christi processions in Rome may be gleaned from the diary of Michele Lauretano, rector of the Jesuits'

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[22] See Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 7 (London, 1995), pp. 25–27.

[23] Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, p. 220.

[24] The ordinance is copied in Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Katholisches Wesensarchiv E45[8], dated 1 September 1594. See also my discussion of this devotion in Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630*, pp. 97–99, 166–167.

German College, who reported in 1583 that the procession included one choir singing the hymn *Pange lingua* in plainchant, another choir singing the hymn *Sacris solemniis* in *falsobordone* (a simplified polyphony), and a third choir singing polyphonic music. Polyphonic motets were sung as the host made stations throughout the city, and as it was replaced on the altar of the church the choir entered under the sound of trombones, following with a performance of *O salutaris hostia*, part of Thomas Aquinas' Corpus Christi hymn *Verbum supernum*. For these processions trumpeters and trombones were hired from the Campidoglio or Castel Sant'Angelo, while papal musketeers fired salvos in honor of the sacrament.[25] In Milan, Corpus Christi processions remained relatively modest until the time of archbishop Carlo Borromeo, after which they assumed an imposing character: choirs of multiple churches sang music and instrumentalists were positioned at the city gates to welcome the host as it reached the edge of the city.[26]

In the contested confessional arena of the north, the Corpus Christi procession assumed a more provocative character. Among the most spectacular processions were those in the Bavarian capital of Munich, where the Wittelsbach dukes sponsored lavish parades of biblical representations from the Old and New Testaments that were entrusted to the city's various trade guilds; thousands of individuals were involved directly in these demonstrations.[27] Musical ensembles positioned at regular intervals articulated the procession sonically with composed polyphony, litanies, and liturgical chant, with the ceremonial and militaristic sounds of trumpets and drums heralding the beginning of the procession as well as the approach of the Eucharist. Enveloped in the pealing of bells from the city's churches, the procession made stations at the four main city gates for the singing of the Gospels. The firing of muskets and cannon stationed on the walls swathed the entire city in an inescapable web of triumphal noise. In mixed confessional communities the Corpus Christi procession amounted to an aggressive appropriation of civic space whose militancy did not fail to leave an impression on Evangelical bystanders.

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[25] "Diario del Padre Michele Lauretano dall'Ottobre 1582–Luglio 1583," pp. 97–98, Archive of the German College in Rome, cited in O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome*, p. 24.

[26] This more elaborate format for the Corpus Christi procession is seen in Milan by 1587. See Christine Suzanne Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 128–130; and Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, p. 141.

[27] For an overview, see Alois Mitterwieser, *Geschichte der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern* (Munich, 1930).

By 1606 the Corpus Christi procession in the biconfessional city of Augsburg, formerly confined to the episcopal quarter, was now extended throughout the city and proclaimed the triumph of the Eucharist with trumpets, drums, gunfire, and a variety of music, leading an Evangelical chronicler to lament the attendance of many of his coreligionists and the use of trumpets and drums "as used in warfare" [*alls wie man inn krieg pflegt zue thuen*].[28] In the imperial city of Regensburg, which was more clearly dominated by an Evangelical majority but hosted an ambitious Jesuit convent, heated discussions about a potential Corpus Christi procession were taking place as early as 1586. When the procession actually began to snake its way through Protestant neighborhoods around 1607, the Catholics were (not surprisingly) forced to do without the large-scale musket- and cannon-fire heard in Munich, but music in the procession itself was a constant presence. There were singing students and boys dressed as "angels," instrumental musicians, and trumpets and military drums. In addition, a lead singer (*Vorsänger*) placed strategically between the male and female laity would have led them in appropriate vernacular songs or litanies as they marched.[29] The sonic impression of the procession, then, likely penetrated into every quarter of the city, even if the marchers themselves were not everywhere visible.

The display of the host made flesh had its natural analogue in the prince as the crown made flesh, and nobility and princes were indeed conspicuous participants in Corpus Christi processions, normally marching shortly behind the monstrance, their own chapels providing musical adornment.[30]

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[28] From Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 2° Cod. S. 44, fol. 51, cited in Bernd Roeck, *Eine Stadt im Krieg und Frieden: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg zwischen Kalenderstreit und Parität* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 184–185. See also Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg*, pp. 245–256; and "*Alls wie mann inn krieg pflegt zue thuen*: Music and Catholic Processions in Counter-Reformation Augsburg," in *City Limits: Perspectives on the Historical European City*, ed. Glenn Clark, et al. (Montreal, 2010), pp. 254–272.

[29] See correspondence preserved in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich, Kirchenliteralien Regensburg, St Paul 2, as well as procession ordinances preserved in Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv Regensburg, OA-Gen 1991. For general discussion of the Corpus Christi procession in Regensburg, see Johann Güntner, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession in Regensburg* (Munich, 1992).

[30] On the theory of the king's "two bodies," see especially Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ, 1957). With respect to processional culture, see also Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco, Peru* (Durham, NC, 1999), p. 2; Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 83; and Erika Supria Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague, 1580–1612" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011), pp. 252–253.

In seventeenth-century Prague, where the meaning and practice of the Eucharist was contested among Catholics, Evangelicals, and Utraquists (who followed the teachings of fifteenth-century reformer Jan Hus and embraced communion in both species), Corpus Christi processions typically featured highly-placed figures. One such procession in 1610 included Archdukes Maximilian III (1558–1618) and the future emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637), the Electors of Mainz and Cologne, a papal nuncio, and other prominent persons.[31] Spearheaded by the Jesuits and attended by the higher nobility, these processions assumed a provocative and militaristic quality. Songs in Czech and German brought the Catholic message to the mixed community of bystanders, while the inclusion of military trumpets and drums magnified the eucharistic triumph for all.[32] In France the procession on the *Fête-Dieu*, begun under Francis I in 1535, was a ready model for kingly processions against heresy. During the French Wars of Religion, the veneration of the Eucharist, the singing of the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and processions against heresy became ever more closely associated. Under Henri II and Henri III, processions with the *Te Deum* hymn became a common means of announcing Catholic military victories, the display of the consecrated host drawing inevitable links between the bodies of Christ and the king.[33]

As Lionel Rothkrug has pointed out, pilgrimage shrines honoring the body of Christ were a primarily rural phenomenon in central Europe of the late Middle Ages, while urban shrines saw a corresponding emphasis on the Virgin Mary as a devotional focus.[34] Both types of pilgrimage destinations tended to share histories rooted in the persecution of Jews. Marian shrines were not uncommonly erected on the sites of former synagogues and ghettos (the shrine of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg, for example), while apologists for eucharistic shrines grounded their histories in libelous, so-called "Bleeding Host" stories of Jewish desecration of the

[31] Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague, 1580–1612," pp. 252–253.

[32] Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague, 1580–1612," pp. 13–14. Honisch's fourth chapter, "Kinship, Kingship and the Music of Eucharistic Devotion" (pp. 246–337) outlines the nature of eucharistic music in post-Tridentine Prague more broadly.

[33] See van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms*, pp. 160–161.

[34] Lionel Rothkrug, *Death, Trust, and Society: Mapping Religion and Culture* (Berkeley, CA, 2006), pp. 93–96. One prominent exception is the so-called *Wunderbares Gut*, a miraculous wafer housed at the Augustinian Canonry of Heilig Kreuz in Augsburg, the destination of numerous regional pilgrimages in the early modern era. For discussion, see Leopold Riedmüller, *Geschichte des Wunderbarlichen Gutes und der Hl. Kreuzkirche in Augsburg* (Augsburg, 1899), as well as Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg*, pp. 274–275.

host that appear to have been especially influential in the Danube valley above all (Ingolstadt, Regensburg, Straubing, and so forth).[35] Both types of shrines shared in a common revival of pilgrimage in the post-Tridentine era, not only representing a revival of popular tradition but also revealing the heavy hand of church and state in channeling pilgrimage toward explicitly confessional ends. Eucharistic pilgrimages could exploit popular enthusiasm for the allegedly miraculous properties of the host, allowing the laity a vital means of sociability and religious expression while etching the confessional boundaries between Catholicism and its antagonists ever more deeply.

All types of pilgrimages, furthermore, shared distinct sonic features that shaped the experience of pilgrims and reconfigured the soundscapes through which they passed. Typically pilgrimages departed from a church where a Mass would first be celebrated, then proceeded in order toward the city gate, likely under the sounds of songs, litanies, and pealing bells. In some cases departing pilgrims were accompanied as far as the city gate by additional well-wishers, including singers and musicians.[36] The pilgrimage proceeded in a clearly hierarchical order that reflected—at least in a prescriptive sense—strict ecclesiastical control. One ordinance from Augsburg for a pilgrimage to the eucharistic shrine of Andechs (around Ascension Day, ca. 1621) indicates that the procession was led by the clerics belonging to the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, followed by Franciscan friars, and then by a group of instrumental musicians. Then followed lay pilgrims from the confraternities of the Holy Trinity and of Corpus Christi, respectively; all other male pilgrims; distinguished (patrician) women; a leader of the singing; and finally all other laywomen.[37] This ordinance appears to be representative in the clear arrangement of pilgrims according to their membership in confraternities and religious orders, and segregated by sex. But we see also evidence here for the interspersal of musicians among the group: not only musicians hired by the

[35] See Soergel's discussion in *Wondrous in His Saints*, pp. 23–24 and passim. Concerning the Regensburg shrine in particular see also Allyson F. Creasman, "The Virgin Mary Against the Jews: Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg, 1519–25," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002): 963–980.

[36] For example, the Archconfraternity of Corpus Christi in Munich, which made an annual pilgrimage to Andechs on Ascension Day, was augmented by singers and musicians as far as the city gate. See Weiss, *Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft bei St. Peter*, pp. 16–18.

[37] Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Katholisches Wesensarchiv E45[11], discussed at length in Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg*, pp. 267–273.

Confraternity of the Holy Trinity (the organizers of the pilgrimage), but also the lead singer, whose responsibility was to intone appropriate litanies and songs for the laity to sing along the route.

While underway, the continuous singing of litanies and vernacular songs—often arranged in the responsorial form of a litany—helped to regulate the pace and breathing of the marching pilgrims.[38] Litanies in honor of the Sacrament or the Name of Jesus were likely sung on route to eucharistic shrines, the lead singer reciting the numerous invocations of the divine object, while pilgrims responded with standard formulas such as "miserere nobis," "libera nos Domine," or their vernacular equivalents. Extant pilgrimage songs from the post-Tridentine era can be quite lengthy and involve detailed expositions of the shrine's history and miraculous efficacy, edifying real or potential pilgrims in its spiritual benefits. The fact or intention of oral transmission, furthermore, is suggested by the usual omission of a notated melody: contrafacture, the textual reference to a tune that was already well known ("Im Thon . . ."), was a typical strategy. A pair of characteristic songs for eucharistic shrines may be seen in a songbook printed at Straubing in 1607 that provides music for several local pilgrimage destinations.[39] One of them, "Als man zehl dreyzehenhundert Jahr" [As one counts thirteen hundred years], is designated for the eucharistic shrine of Deggendorf in eastern Bavaria, whose origins are closely associated with a Jewish host-desecration legend.[40] Ten lengthy stanzas

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[38] Cordelia A. Spaemann, "Wallfahrtslieder," in *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen. Themen zu einer Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums und des Adalbert Stifter Vereins, München*, ed. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and Gerda Möhler (Munich, 1984), p. 181: "Das Wallfahrtslied ist in seiner Urform die aus Vorsängerstrophe und Kyrieruf bestehende Litanei. Als meditativer Wechselgesang regelt sie weniger den Schritt als den Atem und trägt so über weite Wegstrecken."

[39] *Ein new RueffBüchlein/ Von Etlichen sonderbaren Catholischen/ Wahlfahrten-Gesängen/ so GOtt/ seiner lieben Mutter/ vnd dem heyligen Sacramenten deß Altars zu Ehren/ gemacht/ vnd füglich zum Preiß GOTTES mögen gesungen werden* (Straubing: Andre Sommer, 1607). Beyond the two discussed here, additional songs are included for Christ's Passion and Crucifixion, the Sacrament in general, the Virgin Mary, the angels, and the shrine of St Benno in nearby Munich.

[40] In one version of the tale transmitted in pilgrimage manuals by Johann Jakob Rabus (1584) and Johannes Sartorius (1604), a Christian woman sold several consecrated wafers to Deggendorf's Jews, who attempted unsuccessfully to destroy them by piercing them with awls, scratching them with thorns, and baking them in an oven (the bleeding of the hosts, of course, strengthens the parallels with the Passion story). Alerted by angels (or the Virgin Mary, in some tellings), a sentinel alerts the city fathers, leading to the wholesale slaughter of the town's Jewish community and the razing of their ghetto. Despite the fanciful and corrosive tale, it is true that Deggendorf's Jews were wiped out in 1337, and a church was constructed on the site. For centuries pilgrims streamed to the town, particularly during the so-called *Gnadenzeit* in late September and early October. See Rabus, *Kurtzer,*

of text apparently composed by the printer himself (he names himself in the final stanza) narrate an attempt by a group of Jews to destroy a consecrated host, and their subsequent extermination at the hands of a righteous Christian mob. The text is to be sung to the melody of "Ewiger Vater im Himmelreich" [Eternal Father in heaven], which had widely appeared in German songbooks across the confessional divide in the sixteenth century:[41]

> 1. Als men zehl dreyzehenhundert Jahr/ vnnd sieben vnd dreyssig das ist war/
> hat sich ein Sach begeben: Zu Deckendorff im Bäyerlandt/
> manchen Bidermann bekannt/ daß solt ihr mercken eben.
> Da sassen der Juden viel mit Hauß/ die lebten sträffiglichen/
> die machten zsam ein Bund durchauß/ wie sie gantz mörderlichen/
> zu wegen brächten Christi Leib/ im heyligen Sacrament/ zu singen ich das schreib.
>
> As one counts thirteen hundred years, and thirty-seven, it is true,
> A [wondrous] event took place at Deggendorf in Bavaria,
> It is known to many honest men, and you should know it too.
> There were many Jews living there, criminal in their ways,
> They made a pact together to break the Body of Christ
> in the Holy Sacrament most murderously; I write of this so it may be sung.

The Straubing *Rueff-Büechlein* preserves another pilgrimage song for the aforementioned eucharistic shrine of Andechs, poised on the "Holy Mountain" looking over the Ammersee to the southwest of Munich and the site of three consecrated wafers that had been sealed away in the monastery there for protection in 1229, subsequently forgotten, and miraculously

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warhaffter vnd gründtlicher Bericht, von dem hoch vnd weitberühmbten wundersamen H. Sacrament, zu Deckendorff vnd Passaw, in dem hochlöblichen Fürstenthumb Nidern Bayern, &c. Sambt Christlicher Vnderweisung, was from[m]e, glaubige vnd andächtige Hertzen, zu besuchung vnnd verehrung desselben, fürnemblich bewegen vnd antreiben soll (Munich, 1584), and Sartorius, *Memoria mirabilium Dei, Das ist, Von dem hochwürdigen Sacrament, deß wahren Fronleichnams Christi, so Anno M.CCC.XXXVII. zu Deckendorf in Bayrn, von den Juden hochfräuenlicher Weiß tentiret, seythero daselbst auffgehalten, vnd sambt andern würdigen Heiligthumb mit Andacht besuchet vnd verehret wirdt* (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1604). See also Soergel's commentary in *Wondrous in His Saints*, pp. 179–181. Manfred Eder has provided a comprehensive history of the Deggendorf shrine in his *Die "Deggendorfer Gnad": Entstehung und Entwicklung einer Hostienwallfahrt im Kontext von Theologie und Geschichte* (Deggendorf, 1992), a study whose influence has led to the discontinuation of the Deggendorf pilgrimage.

[41] The version of the tune "Ewiger Vater in Himmelreich" here is adapted from that found in the *Gesangbuch: Darinnen Christliche Psalmen/ vnnd KirchenLieder D. MARTINI LVTHERI* (Dresden: durch Gimel Bergen, 1593).

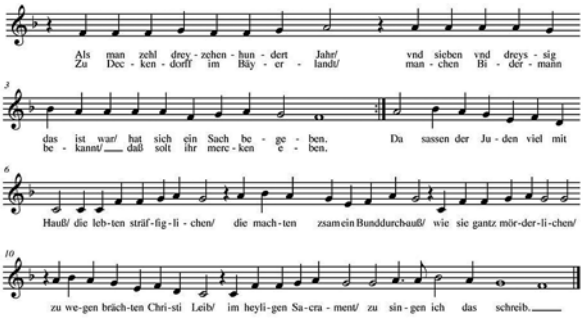

Figure 2. "Als man zehl dreyzehenhundert Jahr".

rediscovered along with a cache of relics by a prescient mouse in 1388.[42] The tale is narrated in the sixty-five stanzas of "Gelobt sey Gott der Vatter" [Praise be to God the Father], a song that had appeared as early as 1586 with an apparently original melody and was reprinted—with considerable variation in the tune and the length of its text—many times thereafter.[43] Like the aforementioned "Als man zehl," this song narrates the shrine of Andechs history in detail and, in the Straubing *Rueff-Büechlein*, designates another tune for contrafacture—a certain "song of Mary Magdalene."[44]

1. Gelobt sey Gott der Vatter/	Praise be to God the Father
In seinem höchsten Thron/	In His highest throne.
Globt sey der Seligmacher/	Praise be to the savior,
Sein eingeborner Sohn/	Who is his only-begotten Son.

[42] A brief overview of the shrine's legendary history may be found in Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, pp. 39–41.

[43] It first appears in the *Gesang vnd Psalmenbuch. Auff die fürnembste Fest durchs gantze Jar/ inn der Kirchen/ auch bey Processionen/ Creutzgäng/ Kirch vnd Wahlfarten nützlich zugebrauchen. Auß den alten approbirten Authorn der Christlichen Kirchen zu gutem in dise Ordnung gebracht. Jedem Lobgesang vnnd Psalmen ist sein gewönliche Melodey mit vleiß zugeordnet worden* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1586), fol. 70v–76v. The melody displays the unusual artifice of a meter change after the first couplet, perhaps responding to the infelicitous third line of the initial stanza. Later versions of the song would carry different melodies, and that in the Straubing *Rueff-Büechlein* omits a notated melody altogether, opting for a contrafacture indication. Later versions of the song found in songbooks published at Cologne (1599), Andernach (1608), Hildesheim (1625), and many other cities are detailed in Wilhelm Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen von den frühesten Zeiten bis gegen Ende des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1883–1911), vol. 1, p. 600, melody no. 302.

[44] Possibly the song "Merckt auf, ihr Sünder alle"; see Franz Magnus Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch: Volkslieder der Deutschen nach Wort und Weise aus dem 12. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 728–29.

Gelobt sey auch der Tröster/	Praise be to the comforter,
Der lebend machend Geist/	The life-making [Holy] Spirit,
Der einig Gott vnd Herrscher/	The one God and Lord,
Die höchst Dreyfaltigkeit.	The highest Trinity.
Kyrieleyson.	Lord have mercy.

The text, which goes on to name the three hosts and various other relics available for veneration on the Holy Mountain, is not simply edificatory, however. Opportunity is not lost to engage in confessional propaganda as well, a sign that extant songs like these cannot be assumed to have been organic products of pilgrimage culture, but rather may have been programmatic vehicles to channel popular belief in confessionally appropriate ways.

30. Du wöllest auch außreutten/	Let you [God] extinguish
Irrthumb vnd Ketzerey/	all error and heresy,
Damit bey Christenleuten/	So that among Christians
Ein Glaub vnd Gotsdienst sey/	There be only one faith and service.
Verley Fürsten vnd Herren/	Grant it to our princes and lords
Der gantzen Christenheit/	Of all Christendom
Das sie den Glauben mehren/	That they magnify this faith
In frid vnd einigkeit.	In peace and unity.
Kyrieleyson.	Lord have mercy.

Other types of evidence suggest that pilgrims were greeted with appropriate sounds upon arrival at a pilgrimage destination. At Deggendorf many pilgrims customarily arrived during to so-called *Gnadenzeit* or "season of grace" beginning on the feast of St. Michael on 29 August and extending into October. An hour of bell-ringing and gunfire preceded the ceremonial opening of the pilgrimage church. Those lucky enough to appear on 30 September were treated to a grand eucharistic procession with singers, organ playing, instrumental music, and the explosions of weaponry. The pomp culminated with a great *Te Deum* performed in the pilgrimage church itself.[45] For the shrine of Andechs a monastic ordinance survives from the year 1572 indicating that pilgrims viewing their treasures were to be treated to liturgical plainsong as well as instrumental music, which resounded in the church as each group of relics was exposed in succession. As the three holy hosts were displayed, a certain text—perhaps the Sanctus of the Mass—was sung "three times, each time beginning

[45] Information on payments for musicians for the great procession may be found in Stadtarchiv Deggendorf, R 27 [Pfarrkirchen-Rechnungen]. I have examined parish records from 1584 to 1650. See also Eder, *Die "Deggendorfer Gnad,"* p. 504.

higher."[46] Pilgrims arriving from far-off locales spent the night at or near the pilgrimage shrine; not uncommonly they kept a vigil within the pilgrimage church itself, singing songs the whole night through. Typical is Johann Engerd's account from the eucharistic shrine of Bettbrunn:

> Concerning those [pilgrims] arriving from afar and wishing to stay overnight, the greater part of them assemble together, some inside the church, some in the churchyard, and they sing such beautiful and pious calls [Rüff] and spiritual songs throughout the night, that it must be a hard heart indeed whose eyes do not well up at the sound.[47]

Pilgrimages such as these featured perhaps the widest variety of sound and music associated with eucharistic devotion: plainsong and polyphony performed for the Mass in the origin and destination churches, a variety of litanies and vernacular songs, and the striking sounds of bells and guns—all of which sonically underlined the triumphal Sacrament in a region of confessional conflict.

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[46] This "Ordo demonstrandi reliquias monasterii in monte sancto Andecensi" is found at the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Klosterliteralien, Andechs 33. See Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg*, p. 265

[47] "[…] das aber von ferne herkommen/ vnd vbernacht bleiben wil/ gesellt sich meystes Theyls zusamen/ etliche in der Kirchen/ etlich auff dem Kirchhoff/ singen dermassen so schöne vnd andächtige Rüff vnd Geistliche Gesang die gantze Nacht/ daß gewißlich einer harthertzig seyn müst/ dem nit die Augen vberlieffen." From Johann Engerd, *Sanct Saluator zu Bettbrunn in Bayrn: Das ist, Von der Alten H. Capellen vnd wirdigen hochberühmten Gotteshauß vnsers lieben Herrn Sanct Saluators zu Bettbrunn in Fürstenthumb Bayrn, Regenspurger Bisthumbs: Auch Von den vielen Wunderzeychen, Heylthumb, Gelübden, Walfärten vnd anderer Christlichen Andacht desselben Orts, &c* (Ingolstadt, 1584), pp. 103–104.

PART SIX

THE IMPORT OF THE EUCHARIST

SACRAMENTAL POETICS

Regina M. Schwartz

What do we have in secular culture that could even begin to address the needs met by the Eucharist?[1] The meanings that the Eucharist has accrued are stunning: the means of achieving communal justice and peace, for cleansing human fault, and for overcoming death. Entering the new, sacramental body, the communicant is no longer an exile from God, but can enjoy a share of his divinity; no longer an exile from community, but can help to constitute the body of the Church; and no longer in exile from creation, but is joined to it materially. The sacrifice satisfies justice, the participation assures love, the words of institution even overcome the failure of fallen language. In short, paradise is restored. Hope for a life-world instead of dead matter, for love instead of mere utility, for justice instead of greed and abuse—the departure of these eucharistic impulses would indeed be very much worth lamenting. And yet somehow the suggestion that if only we would participate in the ritual, the world would thereby heal does not ring quite right.

This may be because we also know how, as many Evangelicals felt, this sacrament of mystery had been instrumentalized. In the course of its institutional life, it came to signify the rule of the Church, instead of the body of God—in fact the phrase *corpus mysticum* that had once referred to the host was transferred by the Lateran Council to the Church, and *corpus Christi*, which had referred to the body of the Church was now used to refer to the host. By the Tudor period, the sacrament had become so entangled with politics that *corpus mysticum* was even used in legal discourse to signify the body of the monarch and the nation. The original sense of the mystical body, of participation in a community governed by consent rather than rule, seemed threatened.

Nonetheless, the tradition has always harbored not only *corpus* understood as a polity, but also *mysticum*, the mystery, and the longing for that mystery surfaces again and again, sustained in part by the rich resources of mystical theology, even as the doctrine winds its way through its contested

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[1] This essay is drawn from my *Sacramental Poetics at the Dawn of Secularism: When God Left the World* (Palo Alto, 2008).

history. This longing, for a mystical participation in God, is not lost during the Reformation anymore than the hunger for justice, love, and a world alive and redolent with meaning is lost in modern secularism. If anything, it is strengthened during the relentless advance of scientific rationalism. Christopher Sutton's *Godly Meditations upon the Most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, a popular devotional book in the seventeenth century, maintained that even if the bread and the wine do not change at their consecration, the sacrament still confesses the mystery that "we must acknowledge that the dignity of this sacrament is greater than words can express, yea, than the mind of man is able to conceive."[2] In early modernity, this longing begins to be transfigured into the cultural life of *ars poetica*. While their world was shaken by challenges to the medieval system of sacramentality, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thinkers who lived at the dawn of modernity responded with inventive solutions for holding fast to the sacred—and one was poetry.

A sacramental poetry says more than it shows and creates more than it signs, yet it does so through a celebration of language, images, sounds, and time that, like liturgy, take the hearer beyond each of those elements. Valery has written about poetry in ways that sound remarkably like a description of liturgy:

> It is necessary . . . for the simple arrangement of words . . . to compel our voice, even the inner voice, to leave the tone and rhythm of ordinary speech and to enter a quite different key and, as it were, a quite different time. This inner coercion to a pulse and a rhythmical action profoundly transforms all the values of the text that imposes it. All at once this text is no longer one of those intended to teach us something and to vanish as soon as that something is understood; its effect is to make us live a different life, breathe according to this second life; and it implies a state or a world in which the objects and beings found there, or rather their images, have other freedoms and other ties than those in the practical world.[3]

A sacramental poetics is not any sign-making, then, for it entails a radical understanding of signifying, one that points beyond the life and presence of the artist, to manifest a new world, "a second life."

This suggests that a sacramental poetics is not afflicted by the poverty of signs, the inept ways in which language falls short of conveying the

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[2] Christopher Sutton, "Godly Meditations upon the most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," in Darwell Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 2 vols. (London, 1909), 2: 291.

[3] Paul Valery, *The Art of Poetry*, trans. Denise Folliot (New York, 1958), p. 256.

sacred. Instead, signs are empowered to be effective, if not to confer grace, then to change its viewer; if not to grant him eternity, then to manifest a world. But the analogy can take us farther. A sacramental poetics is one in which the artist becomes indistinguishable from his art in that the expression and the subject that produce it are joined inseparably; we see the artist in his work. The sacramental understanding of participation also enfolds the reader or viewer in this process. Entering the world of the poem, they participate in its discoveries, seeing what it sees, hearing what it says, feeling what it feels. No mere spectator of the work, the viewer is changed during the encounter with it. For instance, the theater does not make the same claim as the Mass. The actors may dress in elaborate costumes and mimic ceremonial acts, but they do not alter the participant or change the world. Nonetheless, theater is more than mere representation. Usually the created theatrical world either depicts wrongs being set right, inviting its audience to celebrate justice (in comedy), or depicts the triumph of wrongdoing, inviting the audience to grieve over injustice (in tragedy). While it does not fulfill the craving for justice in the world, theater evinces that craving and this, too, is a kind of efficacy.

Take Puccini's Tosca, for example, an especially good model because even as it is explicitly anti-clerical, it conveys much of the power of ritual to stir up ethical responses. The Church is broadly depicted as corrupt and abusive and its head of secret police, Scarpia, not only ruthlessly orders the torture of the brave Mario in order to extract from him the hiding place of the escaped leader of the Republic (and representative of freedom), but unconscionably offers to save Mario from execution in exchange for his lover Tosca's favors. Despising Scarpia, a distraught Tosca nonetheless accepts the terrible terms, asking God why, when she has been so pious, she must suffer so. In return, Scarpia promises to arrange that Mario's "execution" will be staged with blanks instead of bullets. As Scarpia's ensuing seduction of Tosca begins, we thrill to see Tosca drive a knife through Scarpia, "before whom all of Rome trembled." She has defended herself, been faithful to her love, and defeated evil. Not the corrupt Church, but true Christian values have prevailed.

The final act opens in suspense at dawn: the executioners prepare, Mario writes his final love letter to Tosca, and then she arrives. She explains to Mario that he will be allowed to escape, but that he must first go through the charade of the execution to satisfy the law, advising him to fall convincingly before his executioners. At last, the firing squad shoots, he falls and, Tosca, exultant that she will now be able to leave this realm of corruption, urges Mario to hurry. When he fails to move, she discovers

that Scarpia's treachery extended beyond his grave: the bullets were real. What does the audience experience at this exquisite moment, one whose terrible tension is accented so dramatically by Puccini's musical score? We know the truth—Tosca has been betrayed and Mario lies dead. But held out to us in that moment is her belief in the other possibility: love has triumphed, evil does not prevail, her suffering has been redeemed, and this fundamentally Christian plot could have a happy ending. When it does not, when this vision is abruptly denied, we may not kill ourselves (as she does), but we understand her sacrifice as completely intelligible. When the curtain comes down and Puccini's mysterious world is withdrawn, how can we not return to the other created world with longing for it to be just? Like ritual, opera, drama and poetry evince this longing.

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Ironically, when the ritual of the Mass was under attack and revision during the Reformation, poetry picked up where the sacrament ended. Tragedy took on justice explicitly, lyric poetry took on the function of praise and lament that had been the purview of Psalms, and even the epic conjured a world full of divine presence. But it was not only poetry that sought to reinject the mundane world with a sense of the divine: the arts in general became the purview for making transcendence immanent.

The reason is not hard to find, as both ritual and the arts share a common denominator; both, that is, are activities of sign-making. In his *Epoch and Artist*, David Jones observed, "Man is unavoidably a sacramentalist and his works are sacramental in character."[4] Jones goes on astutely to note:

> The terms "sacrament" and "sacramental" are apt to give off overtones and undertones that for a number of disparate reasons have a kind of narrowing effect. Thus, for Christians and especially for the Catholic Christian, those terms carry a specialized meaning and a special aura surrounds them. On the other hand, for secularized man in general, and especially for post-Christians or anti-Christians such terms are suspect or uncongenial. So that in various opposing ways the wide significance and primary meaning is obscured.[5]

Jones continues, suggesting that the "primary meaning" is sign-making. Not only are the arts characterized by the activity of sign-making, but "ultimately, the very work of the sign implies the sacred." Why does a sign inevitably evoke the sacred? It works by evoking something beyond

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[4] David Jones, "Art and Sacrament," in *Epoch and Artist* (London, 1959), p. 155.
[5] Jones, "Art and Sacrament," p. 155.

itself, something that transcends the sign and thereby participates in transcendence. Transcendence—whether vertical or horizontal, above or beyond—is the sphere of the sacred, of what is beyond our comprehension, control, and use. We can point to it, sign it, and by doing so, evoke it. But it is more than we can say, hear, touch, taste, or understand. If that sounds like mystical language, it is meant to, for the link between the sacramental and the mystical is deep. The sacrament has always been considered the purview of mystery, both in Catholic and Reformed contexts. Indeed, the term sacrament is derived from the Latin *sacramentum*, meaning "a consecrated thing or act," i.e., "something holy" or "to consecrate," which itself was a translation of the Greek *mysterion*. Jones goes on to explain that the primary meaning of the word sacramental is simply sign-making. Not only are the arts characterized by the activity of sign-making, ultimately, the very work of the sign implies the sacred and the mysterious, by evoking something beyond itself, something that transcends the sign and thereby participates in transcendence.

Beyond the transcendence of sign-making, there is another component of sacramentality: efficacy. The Catechism of the Council of Trent addressed this aspect clearly: "A sacrament is a thing subjected to the senses, which has the power not only of signifying but also of effecting grace." Rites make something happen. While many arguments took place about what made sacraments effective—the agency of Christ, the faith of the believer, the signs themselves, signs empowered by Christ—the efficacy itself of the sacraments was never in doubt. They conferred grace, created a world. And while philosophers and poets have debated the nature of the efficacy of art—its source in inspiration, in the artist, or adhering in the work itself—they also agree that the fundamental efficacy of art is to manifest a world. This is the basis of the otherwise audacious comparison of the artist to the Creator and the metaphor of the Creator as supreme Artist. In the Augustinian tradition as elaborated by Eriugena and Bonaventure, the human artist imitates the supreme Artist, God. Here, art is not in the thing or the work of making; it "dwells beyond the life and presence of the artist himself" in divine art.[6]

The modern world, then, has bequeathed to us two radically different ways of understanding human making. In one, humans are instrumental, and the world is used and manipulated, as in a technological vision. In the

[6] Jean-Louis Chrétien, *Hand to Hand: Listening to the Work of Art*, trans. Stephen E. Lewis (New York, 2003), p. 106.

other, a sacramental vision, the world is manifest by human productions. This is the claim of icons, that they are portals to the divine rather than human achievements. But that could also be the wider claim of art, that what we make is, at its core, a manifestation of the world, of its mystery. But those alternatives—the world as our instrument vs. the world as appearing—can be challenged when we regard precisely what we "make" as ultimately "manifest."

To further illuminate this sacramental poetics, it is helpful to chart the movement of the Eucharist from ritual to poetry. By "movement," we do not mean that the Eucharist has left the Church; it has not. But a striking and, in many ways, counterintuitive phenomenon took place during the Reformation, when many Evangelicals rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. Aspects of the Eucharist began showing up in the poetry of the Reformation, albeit in completely unorthodox ways. The world made manifest by the ritual was now made manifest in poetry: a universe infused with divinity, a dialogue between God and man, physical union, a realm of justice.

John Milton, the great English Reformation poet, inveighed vociferously against transubstantiation in his prose, as we would expect of a Protestant—with all of the conventional reformist rhetoric of the idolatry and cannibalism of eating and digesting God—but nevertheless, in his great epic, he depicts the entire cosmos as in the very act of ceaselessly transubstantiating. In his theological treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana*, Milton does not mince words:

> The Papists hold that it is Christ's actual flesh which is eaten by all in the Mass. But if this were so, even the most wicked of the communicants, not to mention the mice and worms which often eat the eucharist, would attain eternal life by virtue of the heavenly bread.[7]

Besides, he says, such a corporeal understanding of the Mass brings down Christ's holy body from its supreme exaltation at the right hand of God.

> It drags it back to the earth, though it has suffered every pain and hardship already, to a state of humiliation even more wretched and degrading than before: to be broken once more and crushed and ground, even by the fangs of brutes. Then, when it has been driven through all the stomach's filthy channels, it shoots it out—one shudders even to mention it—into the latrine.[8]

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[7] John Milton, "De Doctrina Christiana," trans. John Carey, in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 8 vols. (New Haven, 1973), 6: 554.

[8] Milton, "De Doctrina Christiana," 6: 554.

Colorful, if conventional.

And yet, Milton gives the communion prominence of place in his major work, *Paradise Lost*, embracing the sacrament with gusto, for he frames the central meal in the epic—that Adam and Raphael partake in the Garden (over five books)—as a communion.

> So down they sat
> And to their viands fell, nor seemingly
> The angel, nor in mist, the common gloss
> Of theologians, but with keen dispatch
> Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
> To transubstantiate[9]

What is Milton doing calling to mind theologians and real presence, which for him has become "real hunger," and *transubstantiate*—such an overloaded term—for a simple luncheon on the grass? Raphael compares their meal to heaven's high feasts, where "tables are set and piled with Angel's food, Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of heaven," and the angels "eat, drink, and in *communion* sweet quaff immortality and joy," echoing Jesus' own words that allude to the heavenly communion.[10] But Milton is describing the earthly, not the heavenly paradise, and in the *earthly* paradise, what kind of communion is this? First, polemically, it takes place on a table and not an altar—at least that is what Milton chooses to call the grassy mound.

> Raised of grassy turf
> Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
> And on her ample square from side to side
> All autumn piled, though spring and autumn here
> Danced hand in hand.[11]

Second, the communion is not conferred by a priest in vestments but, shockingly, ministered by a naked woman.

> Meanwhile at Table Eve
> ministered naked and their flowing cups
> with pleasant liquors crowned[12]

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[9] John Milton, "Paradise Lost," in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 5: 433–38.
[10] Milton, "Paradise Lost," 5: 632–638.
[11] Milton, "Paradise Lost," 5: 391–395.
[12] Milton, "Paradise Lost," 5: 443–445.

Eve crushes grapes—of all things—to drink. We are cautioned to understand that the bountiful fruits of Paradise are really digested by the angel, materially, "not in mist, the common gloss of Theologians,"[13] making the emphasis against spiritualizing the sacrament.

There are no words of institution, no sermon. But there is instead a conversation whose subject is, virtually, the nature of transubstantiation. For while they are eating, Raphael expounds Milton's own version of the doctrine:

> One Almighty is, from whom
> All things proceed, and up to him return,
> If not depraved from good, created all
> Such to perfection, one first matter all,
> Indu'd with various forms various degrees
> Of substance, . . .
> But more refined, more spiritous and pure
> As nearer to him placed or nearer tending
> So from the root
> Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
> More aery, last the bright consumate flower
> Spirits odorous breathes: flowers and their fruit
> Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed
> To vital spirits aspire . . .

And then the angel offers a demonstration of this wondrous digestion: he eats.

> Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
> If I refuse not, but convert, as you
> To proper substance.[14]

And finally, he explains to Adam that this whole process of sublimation, digestion, and transformation is really about not the wafer turning into the body of Christ or the wine turning into the blood of Christ, but man becoming God. *But wait, isn't that the heart of the eucharistic doctrine?* He adds that the whole universe is engaged in this digestive process—but with the important difference that these changes are not effected by a church—and there is no church yet in paradise as it need not be restored. Instead, these changes just happen naturally. Moreover, the process of changing substance does not just characterize the meal in the garden;

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[13] Milton, "Paradise Lost," 5: 435–436.
[14] Milton, "Paradise Lost," 5: 469–476.

this eating and sublimating describes Milton's cosmology. He depicts his entire universe as a body engaged in ceaseless transformation and a kind of transubstantiation: a material, digesting, concocting, assimilating body that perpetually and naturally turns matter into spirit.

> For know, whatever was created, needs
> to be sustained and fed; of Elements
> The grosser feeds the purer, Earth the Sea,
> Earth and Sea feed Air, . . .
> Nor doth the Moon no nourishment exhale
> From her moist continent to higher orbs.
> The sun that light imparts to all
> Receives from all his alimental recompense
> In humid exhalations
> And at Even Sups with Ocean[15]

If, in his prose, the puritan Milton inveighed against transubstantiation as a cannibalistic doctrine, make no mistake, in *Paradise Lost*, he delineated an entire vision of a transubstantiating universe. Given that the Eucharist commemorates the redemption of humankind by Christ, it is indeed remarkable to place the communion, which recalls Christ's death, in Paradise with the unfallen Adam, and even more remarkable in the context of Reformation controversies. Evangelicals had already changed the allusion to sacrifice: it was to be remembered, not repeated, at the communion. The altar became a table. Calvary was to be called to mind, not reenacted. But Milton's Eucharist does not even call it to mind! The body and blood of Christ are not a bleeding body, but a breathing body, indeed, a giant living pulsing universe, one whose breath joins the very breath of angels to become the spirit of God. In his remarkable imaginative feat, Milton has depicted a sinless man in the garden, with no need for the redemption signaled by the communion, engaging in communion. We are challenged to imagine a wondrous thing: a sinless Eucharist. But then the same poet impels us to contemplate the wonder of a paradise instead of our tragic world, albeit from afar. In Milton's paradisal, sinless Eucharist, the emphasis falls on longing and its frustration—on desire, and perhaps on hope, but not on an achieved redemption. For him, the doctrine of real presence leaves one with real hunger.

While John Milton takes the Eucharist to the cosmos, another major English poet of the Reformation, John Donne, takes it to the bedroom;

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[15] Milton, "Paradise Lost," 5: 414–426. It is impossible for me to see the sun on the horizon and not think of those lines.

between their imaginations, communion is stretched to the limits of the universe and contracted to the space of greatest intimacy. An Anglican priest and Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Donne wrote both explicitly religious poetry, including his "Holy Sonnets," as well as equally explicit seduction verse, vexing critics who have trouble reconciling these seeming contraries. But Donne's seduction lyrics can allude to communion, even inflecting a conventional flea poem with the imagery of the Eucharist, where "our two bloods mingled be":

> Thou know'st that this cannot be said
> A sin, or shame, or loss of maidenhead,
> Yet this [flea] enjoys before it woo,
> And pampered swells with one blood made of two,
> And this, alas, is more than we would do.
> "The Flea"[16]

To stop her from crushing the flea, the speaker invokes the trinity ("Oh stay, three lives in one flee spare") and the sacredness of marriage ("This flea is you and I, and this / Our marriage bed, and marriage temple is"). She squashes it, and he turns to the Passion ("Cruel and sudden, hast thou since / Purpled thy nail, in blood of innocence?") accusing her of the "sacrilege of three sins in killing three." The poem's meaning emerges not only from the satiric incongruity of the sacrifice of Christ with swatting a flea. Something serious hovers as a reminder: physical love gets sanctified, even if comically, for the whole trope requires the leap that lovemaking is like communion.

In his sermons, Donne's investment in the physical body cannot be overestimated. Lovemaking recapitulates the union of God and man achieved in the Incarnation and echoed in the Eucharist, and is so redemptive that he even imagines making love beyond the grave. Then. too, when he preaches that in the afterlife Christ excludes marriage because there is no need of it in heaven, for "there they need no mutuall help," he says nonetheless that lovemaking is not expressly ruled out:

> Yet he excludes not our *knowing* [carnally], or our loving of one another upon former *knowledge* in this world, in the next; Christ does not say expressly we s*hall* yet neither does he say that we *shall not* know one another there. Neither can we say, we shall not, because we *know* not how we should.[17]

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[16] John Carey, ed., *John Donne: The Major Works* (Oxford, 1990), p. 89.

[17] John Donne, Sermon no. 3, sermon preached 19 November 1627, in *Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George Simpson and Evelyn Potter, 10 vols. (Berkeley, 1955), 8: 98–99.

Donne's attachment to the body is also strong enough for him to suggest that the angels should envy us for having bodies, rather than we, the angels. "Man cannot deliberately wish himself an angel," he writes, "because he should lose by that wish, and lack that glory which he shall have in his body." After all, "We shall be like the angels in the exalting the faculties of our souls; But they shall never be like us in our glorified bodies."[18] Indeed,

> the Kingdom of Heaven hath not all that it must have to a consummate perfection, til it have bodies too. God did not think heavenly glory "so perfect, but that it might receive an addition from creatures; and therefore made a world, a material world, a corporeal world, so they would have bodies in the Heaven of Heavens, the Presence Chamber of God himself where the presence of our bodies is expected.[19]

In many sermons he argues for the resurrection of the body with the soul. "A man is not saved, a sinner is not redeemd, I am not received into heaven, if my body be left out; The soule and the body concurred to the making of a sinner; and body and soule must concur to the making of a Saint."[20]

And he vividly envisions the physicality of the Resurrection:

> Where be all the splinters of that Bone, which a shot hath shivered and scattered in the Ayre? Where be all the Atoms of that flesh, which a Corrasive hath eat away, or a Consumption hath breath'd and exhal'd away from our arms and other Limbs? In what wrinkle, in what furrow, in what bowel on the earth, are all the graines of the ashes of a body burnt a thousand years since? In what corner, in what ventricle of the sea, lies all the jelly of a Body drowned in the generall flood? What coherence, what sympathy, what dependence maintaines any relation, any correspondence, between that arm that was lost in Europe, and that legge that was lost in Afrique or Asia, scores of years between?[21]

One implication of this grasp of the material immanent world is that for Donne, communion—between body and soul, man and God, and human lovers—may be rare. He dwells on how difficult it is to achieve, how transitory its moments are, how much the lover fails to apprehend his beloved due to his own self-absorption, and how much the would-be lover fails to love another and God due to his worldly preoccupations. Nevertheless, it

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[18] John Donne, Sermon preached 8 May 1625, in *John Donne*, ed. Carey, p. 360.

[19] John Donne, Sermon preached at Whitehall, 8 March 1622, in *John Donne*, ed. Carey, p. 306.

[20] *Sermons of John Donne*, 6: 103.

[21] Sermon 3, preached 19 November 1627, in *Sermons of John Donne*, 8: 98.

is achievable in *this* world and in *this* time. Remarkably, Donne does not pursue this quasimystical project of combining by transcending the material world. Rather, by fully embracing materiality, sexuality, and desire, he makes them the very medium of his transvaluation. This means he differs from Milton for whom communion is an achievement before the world as we know it, a feature of prelapsarian paradise, and from George Herbert, for whom communion will be achieved beyond this world—in an apocalyptic afterlife.

Unlike Milton's work, then, Donne's poetry does not lament the loss of a prelapsarian cosmos in which all ingests All and gives back its "alimental recompense," in which the sun sups at even with the ocean, as Milton so exquisitely expresses it. The poetry of Donne tends not mourn a lost paradise where to behold the face of God was Adam's "highth of happiness" (*Paradise Lost* X. 724) because it typically looks for the face of God in the face of the lover. It is this look that yields the all in All:

> My face in thine eye, thine in mine appears,
> And true plain hearts do in the faces rest,
> Where can we find two better hemispheres
> Without sharp north, without declining west?
> Whatever dies, was not mixed equally;
> If our two loves be one, or, thou and I
> Love so alike, that none do slacken, none can die.
> "The Good Morrow," 15–21[22]

In addition to its innuendo of sexual consummation, the poem suggests that full love, fully given, achieves eternal life, a kind of resurrection, for the lovers. Donne preached, "GOD is *Love*, and the Holy Ghost is amorous in his Metaphors; everie where his Scriptures abound with the notions of Love, of Spouse, and Husband, and Marriage Songs, and Marriadge Supper, and Marriadge-Bedde."[23] And the learned divine knew his precedents in his amorous theological metaphors drawn from the biblical Song of Songs through a long tradition of theologians: Augustine, Gregory, Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Saint Thierry, St. Francis, Bonaventura, Eckhart and the Rhineland School, Jean Gerson, Denys the Carthusian, Nicholas of Cusa, Catherine of Genoa, Luis de Leon, John of the Cross, to Teresa of Avila. This strain of Christianity, negative or apophatic theology, wherein God is described by negation, in terms of what may not be said about

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[22] Carey, *John Donne*, p. 89.

[23] Preached before the King at Whitehall, Feb. 24, 1625, in *Sermons of John Donne*, 7: 87–88.

God, exerted much influence on Evangelicals, perhaps because it knew no denominational exclusions at a time of much religious intolerance. Dionysius the Areopagite was its most eloquent spokesman:

> Why is it, however, that theologians sometimes refer to God as Yearning (eros) and Love (agape) and sometimes as the yearned-for and the Beloved? On the one hand he causes, produces, and generates what is being referred to, and on the other hand he is the thing itself . . . He is yearning on the move, simple, self-moved, self-acting, preexistent in the Good, flowing out from the Good onto all that is and returning once again to the Good.[24]

In his theology, Dionysius resolutely refused to separate eros from agape, desire from love:

> Indeed some of our writers on sacred matters have thought the title "yearning" to be more divine than "love" . . . So let us not fear this title of "yearning" (eros) nor be upset by what anyone has to say about these two names, for in my opinion, the sacred writers regard "yearning" and "love" as having one and the same meaning.[25]

Human desire is the same eros that came from God: divine love is the source of human craving, the author of our desire. For Dionysius, the very creation of the world is an explosion of erotic energy. God creates out of the overflowing of eros:

> The very cause of the universe is the beautiful, good superabundance of his benign yearning (eros) for all, carried outside of himself in the loving care he has for everything. He is, as it were, beguiled by goodness, by love (agape) and by yearning (eros) and is enticed away from his transcendent dwelling place and comes to abide within all things.[26]

As all is created from divine eros, so all yearns for its divine source. The logic is eucharistic, for we seek God to combine with God.

In that tradition love is characterized as full of both immanent and transcendent desire, consummated in physical and spiritual union, a union of mortals that grants access to union with the immortal. There is no competition between lowly carnal love and higher spiritual love; rather, Donne joins them to produce the fruit of human and religious love.[27]

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[24] "The Divine Names," in *Pseudo-Dionysius*, ed. Colm Luibheid (Mahwh, NJ, 1987), 712C.

[25] Dionysius the Areopagite, "The Divine Names," 709B.

[26] Dionysius the Areopagite, "The Divine Names," 712B.

[27] Other critics have noted that Donne "presents himself as both resident and alien in the realms of Petrarchism." See Heather Dubrow, *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and Its Counterdiscourses* (Ithaca, 1995), p. 207. And Petrarch presents *himself* that way,

Such an understanding of human love challenges us to rethink idolatry. When love of man or woman leads *to* God instead of away from God, it cannot be idolatrous. Hence, instead of finding passion dangerous, Donne's speakers confront another threat—inauthentic worship, false valuation. Sonnet XVIII ventures to describe what idolatry would be with more specificity: following through the trope of the church as the bride of Christ, the poem suggests that perhaps embracing one church instead of loving God may be idolatrous. The bride of Christ could be "richly painted" on "the other shore"—the church of Spain, or "robbed and torn/Laments and mourns in Germany and here"—the English church, or she could be on Mt. Moriah, the early church, or even on the seven hills of Rome. But these are all partial: the true bride of Christ knows no single place, but can be found in all places.

> Betray, kind husband, Thy spouse to our sights,
> And let mine amorous soul court Thy mild Dove,
> Who is most true and pleasing to Thee then
> When she is embraced and open to most men.[28]

At her best, the bride of Christ is promiscuous, the sonnet says provocatively. The bride of Christ pleases God most when she gives to most. Embracing eros as divine takes the speaker to the logical conclusion that the more love the better. Dangers do not lurk from love, but from its lack, from not enough love, false love, and above all, no love. This is the devil for Donne.

The title of his lyric, "The Community," alludes to a social group, holy communion, and common—all at once.

> Good we must love, and must hate ill,
> For ill is ill and good good still,
> But there are things indifferent,
> Which we may neither hate, nor love,
> But one, and then another prove,
> As we shall find our fancy bent.[29]

The speaker begins by defining women as *adiaphora*, as "things indifferent" and therefore as available for use:

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renouncing his love for Laura as profane and substituting the Virgin at the end of the Canzoniere, only to revive a heavenly Laura in the Trionfi.

[28] "Holy Sonnet XVIII," 11–14.

[29] "The Community," 1–6.

> But since she [Nature] did them so create,
> That we may neither love, nor hate,
> Only this rests: All, all may use.

But for all its playfulness, the poem becomes, in the final stanza, not only sexually but also theologically charged.

> But they are ours as fruits are ours,
> He that but tastes, he that devours,
> And he that leaves all, doth as well;
> Changed loves are but changed sorts of meat,
> And when he hath the kernel eat,
> Who doth not fling away the shell?[30]

Is the offensive implication that having had the favors of a woman (her kernel) the man would fling her away? This conforms to the stance of the speaker as a libertine. But the language of kernel and shell also permeated discourse on the Eucharist, where the kernel signaled the substance and the shell, the accidents. In that sense, the final couplet suggests, when you have the substance, why worry about the accidents? When you have taken in the true Christ, why worry about the status of the bread and the wine? The title of the poem, "Community," then, means not only the community of the women and men who have one another sexually; it also alludes to the body of believers, the ecclesial community who share communion. In this sense, "changed loves" are not only new women, but also the change wrought by loving Christ. In the end, the theological argument helps us make sense of the sexual one: asking who needs the shell when he has the kernel, the speaker has suggested that he does not need "all" these women because he has all in having his one true love, God. Nothing here is promiscuous after all, in the conventional sense.

Meat, instead of the elements, bread and wine, is precisely the way George Herbert, another poet and priest during the English Reformation, refers to the body of Christ in his famous eucharistic lyric, "Love."[31] Marked by its ease and deceptive simplicity at presenting a deep theological and emotional drama, "Love" is often thought of as Herbert's quintessential poem:

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[30] "The Community," 19–24.

[31] I refer to the third lyric on Love in his anthology of lyrics, "The Temple," in *George Herbert and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Poets*, ed. Louis Martz (New York, 1978).

"Love" (III)

Love bade me welcome. Yet my soul drew back
Guilty of dust and sin.
But quick-eyed Love, observing me grow slack
From my first entrance in,
Drew nearer to me, sweetly questioning,
If I lacked any thing.

A guest, I answered, worthy to be here:
Love said, You shall be he.
I the unkind, ungrateful? Ah my dear,
I cannot look on thee.
Love took my hand, and smiling did reply,
Who made the eyes but I?

Truth Lord, but I have marred them: let my shame
Go where it does deserve.
And know you not, says Love, who bore the Blame?
My dear, then I will serve.
You must sit down, says Love, and taste my meat:
So I did sit and eat.

The lyric derives its rich texture from the echo of many biblical passages describing God inviting man to a feast: "Hee brought me to the banketing house, and his banner over me was love" (Song of Songs 2:4 King James Version); Psalm 23, where God is a gracious Host; Matthew 26:29; Luke 12:37, where the master comes and serves his servants; the promised messianic banquet, "Behold, I stand at the doore, and knocke: if any man heare my voice, and open the doore, I will come in to him, and wil sup with him, and he with me" (Revelation 3:20 KJV); and Matthew 22:1–10 and Luke 14:7–24, the parables of the great supper. Herbert's unworthy guest alludes most directly to Matthew's version of the parable, said the king said to his servants, "The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden, were not worthy" (Matthew 22:8 KJV). But Herbert has changed the plot:

> A man once gave a great banquet, and invited many; and at the time for the banquet he sent his servant to say to those who had been invited, "Come; for all is now ready." But they all alike began to make excuses . . . Then the householder in anger said to his servant, "Go out quickly to the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in the poor and maimed and blind and lame." And the servant said, "Sir, what you commanded has been done, and still there is room." And the master said to the servant, "Go out to the highways and hedges, and compel people to come in, that my house may be filled. For I tell you, none of those men who were invited shall taste of my banquet." Luke 14:16

In Herbert's version, allegorized Love not only invites a guest who refuses, making excuses, is pronounced unworthy, and then is replaced by someone else—because the host gives up on them. In Herbert's poem, *Love will not be refused.*

The feast of love to which God has invited humankind alludes to both the earthly communion with the implied pun on "host" and the heavenly marriage banquet it anticipates. In the course of this conversation, the guest claims that he is not worthy, tries to back away, but love holds on to him, continuing to engage him in conversation. The guest agrees that Love created him, but insists that he has marred that created image. Alluding to original sin, he wants to leave in shame; and Love admits that the image of God in man *has* been marred, shame *has* ensued, but Love reminds him that she has borne the blame and has thereby imputed righteousness to him.

But like ritual, poetry *performs* its theology. This is not only a conversation *about* worthiness; rather, in the course of the conversation that is this poem, the guest *becomes* worthy—worthy, first by acknowledging his lack of worth; worthy, next, by listening when he is told that his unworthiness has been accounted for; and worthy because he then understands, finally, that he does belong at the meal. All of these change him and begin to qualify him for the communion. The conversation becomes a conversion. The drama of the poem focuses with exquisite intensity on the invitation and the question of its acceptance—not on the menu, not on the wine and the bread, or its status. What is at the heart of Herbert's mystery of the Eucharist is that an utterance could ever be heard, that a call could ever be answered, an offer could ever be received, an invitation could ever be accepted, a conversation could ever take place. Clearly, for Herbert, an important aspect of this sacramental mystery is the mystery of language.

My point is certainly not that many Reformed poets were closeted Catholics (that relation may or may not be argued), nor that the Reformation was top down instead of bottom up (historians helpfully debate this), nor that we need to reevaluate the religious identity of these and other writers to nuance them more finely (a valuable enterprise). I am too worried about the question of religious identity and the violence that inheres in fencing off religious identities to recapitulate identity conflicts. Instead, I see a cultural need for something that the sacrament satisfies so well that it could not be dispensed with, despite all the critiques of transubstantiation; it still attracts, despite the symbolic force Evangelicals gave it. Evangelicals hungered for the Eucharist.

Sacramental poetics does not begin with these Reformation poets, and while they were perhaps preoccupied with the Eucharist, this is not what makes their poetry sacramental: for this is not a poetics of theme. Rather, as sign-making characterizes the sacrament of the Eucharist, it also does poetry, which is similarly engaged in making present what is absent—not just in select figures of speech, like the apostrophe, but in the very poetic enterprise.

This movement into art in early modernity was not an explicit return or recovery of previous figures of transcendence, nor a deliberate effort to re-institute transubstantiation, nor even to deliver a wholesale transfer from one cultural formation, the institutional church, to another, *ars poetica*. All of these Reformers were, in different ways, participants in a critique—a radical critique—of the Mass. While their complaints varied from doctrine to hermeneutics, from ritual acts to ritual setting, one common ground was their fear of idolatry. Throughout their rhetoric, Evangelicals ranging from high Anglicans to radical Puritans accused the Roman Church of idolatry and the Roman Mass of being an exercise in idol worship.[32] And the very worst of all idolatries was the worship of the host: the "cake idol," the "god of bread," the "idol of the altar." Such zeal underscores the centrality of the eucharistic controversies. Over the question of the Mass, heads rolled and ink spilled; religious institutions convulsed at the birth of new theologies and rituals and the defamation and deformation of old ones. Moreover, debates about the Eucharist became the occasion for the worldview we regard as "modern" to begin to be articulated, and this fledgling modernism swept into its purview a vast array of concerns and disciplines—from the linguistic to the political, from the anthropological to the cosmological, from the private sanctuary of belief to the public forum of state ceremony. In the course of questioning the Eucharist, justice and sacrifice, images and language, community and love, cosmos and creation, were all implicated. When the dust settled after Evangelicals had redefined the Eucharist, understandings of

[32] John Knox compares the idolatry of the Mass to ancient pagan idolatry of wood and stone, adding the qualification that "the poor God of bread is the most miserable of all other idols." See John Knox, "The Reasoning which was betwixt the Abbot of Crosragual and John Knox," in *Works*, ed. David Laing, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1864), 6: 172–173. Thomas Cranmer did not mince words: "What man, having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto God, doth not see and lament to have entered into Christ's religion such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy." See Thomas Cranmer, *The Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ* (London, 1550), p. 116.

the world and how we apprehend it were revised; theology, metaphysics, aesthetics, and politics were re-imagined. In short, the Eucharist was a lightning rod, a focus where tremendous energy gathered, or better, a lightning bolt—for it jolted sensibilities into a new world order where the questions of justice, signification, love, and the created world, so urgent for theology, become the domains of the ethical, the symbolic, the erotic, and the material in a nascent secular one.

Clearly, the English Reformed poets did not inaugurate modernity by turning away from the mystery of transubstantiation; they did so by making it symbolic and then by making language its chief vehicle into other cultural formations, by creating a "sacramental poetics." In that understanding of language, what is said and its relation to the referent—the sign to the signified—becomes less important than the activity of saying. In this sacramental model, language is not merely understood as the servant of ontology, of "standing for a thing." No, the way language works in conversation, as it works in Herbert's masterpiece, is not to pass some *thing* from one to another; rather the activity or speaking and hearing, the exchange, the miracle that *someone* hears when we call. What is heard may well be left indeterminate. Whatever it is, it is the only utterance we make while we live: praise from the depths, like Jonah from the belly of the whale when he sings a psalm, praise expressed as the mysterious hypostasis of joy and pain.

Milton, Donne, and Herbert infused the cosmos, lovers, and conversation with sacramentality. Following the Anglican impulse toward the symbolic Eucharist, they broadened the ritual transubstantiation of bread and wine into other cultural expressions. Are these expressions of nostalgia for the "old faith"? Are these poets lamenting that in some sense the departure of the doctrine of transubstantiation at the Reformation risked the departure of the divine, of a once meaningful world now emptied? I do not think so. For they certainly did not lose the sacrament, they only extended it. Something else is impelling this longing—the ritual that harbored the potential of reconciliation might not have come through in this war-torn period. I would prefer to express their longing as driven by hope instead of loss. A life-world, conversation, justice and love—the departure of these eucharistic impulses would indeed be very much worth lamenting, and these poets offer the hope that we will continue to desire these and strive for them, however difficult the task.

ENLIGHTENMENT AESTHETICS AND THE EUCHARISTIC SIGN: LESSING'S *LAOCOÖN*

Christopher Wild

I

The Eucharist and aesthetics are, depending on the sense of the term *aesthetics*, a problematic pairing. If we take aesthetics in its most general and original sense, in the sense that Aristotle uses it, for instance, in *De anima*, namely as *aisthesis* or "perception," the problem immediately becomes apparent. What fueled the long history of eucharistic controversies all the way up until the Reformation is the fact that the Eucharist fundamentally frustrates perception and cognition. The body and blood of Christ are precisely what cannot be seen or easily understood. This discrepancy between perception and essence is what the many different theorizations and theologies of the Eucharist during the Reformation were attempting to work through. Taken in this original and epistemological sense, the conjunction of Eucharist and aesthetics explodes the narrow confines of a single companion article, and is, thus, treated by the various contributions in section II of this volume. The same is true if we take "aesthetics" of the Eucharist in the sense of its phenomenal presentation; in other words, the religious technologies and practices that were employed to make it experiential and intelligible in the course of the liturgy and other ritual processes. An integral part of these technologies and practices of bringing the Eucharist to appearance are, of course, the arts arranged around the central event of Christian liturgy. Aesthetics in this sense is explored by sections III and particularly V of this volume and will, thus, not be the subject of my contribution either.

The purview of this essay is much narrower, both historically and systematically, as I take "aesthetics" in yet a third, very specific sense: as denoting the discipline and discourse of the beautiful in art and elsewhere. As a discipline, aesthetics emerged in the German lands in the middle of the eighteenth century. While there were, of course, a number of other aesthetic thinkers in England and France, it was Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten who coined the designation "Aesthetica" when he published his lectures in 1750 under the same title. Although Baumgarten could not

deny its Aristotelian heritage when he defined aesthetics as the "science of sensate cognition" (*scientia cognitionis sensitivae*),[1] its domain was no longer the whole perceptual world, but the beautiful in art and literature. Relevant to the present essay, but all too often overlooked by eighteenth-century scholarship, is the fact that aesthetics, like so many other developments in German eighteenth- and nineteenth-century intellectual and cultural history, was a largely Evangelical and, more particularly, Pietist affair. It was conceived and elaborated by products of a Pietist upbringing such as Baumgarten, his student Georg Friedrich Meier, or Immanuel Kant and Karl Philipp Moritz, or by sons of Evangelical pastors or students of Evangelical schools such as Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger, or Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Johann Gottfried Herder.

The demarcation of an autonomous aesthetic domain, which gave rise to the emergence of a corresponding discipline, happened first in the Evangelical controversies over the so-called *adiaphora*.[2] Their mostly Lutheran defenders claimed that art and literature belonged to a category of things that are neither good nor bad or, more precisely, neither effective for salvation nor for condemnation. In other words, art and literature in themselves are soteriologically indifferent and purposeless. This demarcation was articulated in medial terms. Those things which are neither good nor bad were termed "Mitteldinge" or "media." It is thus their use or abuse that determines their soteriological and moral status. They are media not only because they are literally things that are located in the middle (in Latin *medium*) between those things and actions which redeem or condemn, but also, and maybe more importantly, because they are mere media. In the eyes of their Lutheran defenders, art and literature are neutral representational media which are not to be held responsible for the abuses for which they may have been deployed. They communicate and mediate without altering or corrupting the message. Thus in a sense, those claiming that art is a "Mittelding" hold a theory of, what one could call, "weak" mediality. Aesthetic media are completely neutral and transparent and, thus, do not affect what they mediate.

In contrast, the Pietists, who vehemently denied that there existed anything indifferent in this fallen world, advocated the opposite view. In a moral universe governed by Paul's prescription that anything that

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[1] Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, *Ästhetik*, ed. Dagmar Mirbach, 2 vols. (Hamburg 2007), 1: 21.

[2] Cf. Reimund Sdzuj, *Adiaphorie und Kunst. Studien zur Genealogie ästhetischen Denkens* (Tübingen 2005).

does not spring from faith is sin, there can be no third, *tertium non datur*. Every action that is not an expression of the love of God belongs to this world and is thus sinful. And even if there existed something that was soteriologically indifferent and neutral, it would be suspect by virtue of its indifference and ambivalence. An aesthetic medium's ability to be used as well as abused not only subverts the categorical difference between virtue and vice, but its impious abuse threatens to contaminate any pious benefit. Given that the Pietist detractors of aesthetic media believed that they contaminate and corrupt what they communicate, their detractors certainly did not hold media to be neutral or "weak"—quite the contrary. Therefore, theoreticians of aesthetic mediality such as Baumgarten, Kant, or Moritz, who came from a Pietist milieu, were conditioned to be particularly attuned to the specific character and power of different artistic media. At the same time they sought to distance themselves from the hostile position of their religious upbringing by maintaining, very much in the vein of adiaphorists, that aesthetic media are indifferent and purposeless—soteriologically and otherwise.

Ultimately, this debate about the soteriological and moral status of aesthetic media can be traced back to the comprehensive reform of religious and profane media Martin Luther and the other Evangelical reformers inaugurated. In fact, the various Evangelical reforms may be also understood as radical and profound critiques of religious mediation. If this lineage is correct, then a more or less direct line can be drawn from Reformation controversies about religious media to the Enlightenment debates about aesthetic media; then it can be argued that the foregrounding of aesthetic mediality in general, a major characteristic and innovation of enlightenment aesthetic discourse, as well as the sensitivity to the particularity of individual media, which thinkers such as Lessing, Herder, and Moritz exhibited, are owed to the extensive and intensive reflection and critique of religious and profane media at the center of the media reform of the sixteenth century. In the following essay I will turn to one of the most seminal texts of the aesthetics of the German Enlightenment, namely Lessing's *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, in order to examine how he aligns his concept of the aesthetic sign with the Lutheran notion of the Eucharist.

II

Inspired by his conversations with Konrad Arnold Schmid, professor of theology at the Collegium Carolinum in Braunschweig, who was editing

a letter written by the eleventh-century orthodox theologian Adelmann to the protagonist of the second pre-scholastic eucharistic controversy Berengar of Tours, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the newly minted librarian at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, started to scour its holdings in search of other writings by Adelmann or, even better, by Berengar himself. Soon he was successful in identifying a previously unknown rescript of Berengar to one of his main opponents, Lanfranc of Bec. In his last letter to his father, a Lutheran pastor, Lessing could not contain his pride of discovery:

> Right at the outset I have made a discovery among the manuscripts here of which there are almost 6000; a discovery which falls into the domain of theological scholarship. You know of Berengarius who, in the eleventh century, opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation. Of him I have found a work which, I would contend, was completely unknown; in fact, whose existence the Catholics had categorically denied. It exhaustively explains the history of church councils of the said century which were held against Berengarius und simultaneously contains uncontrovertible evidence that Berengarius held Luther's later position on the Holy Supper and in no way would have concurred with the opinion held by the Reformed Church. I will edit the whole manuscript and I am having an announcement printed which I will send you shortly.[3]

For Lessing, this archival find had great significance within the emotional economy of his familial relationships. This was something a man of the church such as Lessing's father—who like so many other eighteenth-century pastors was at odds with the literary pursuits and aspirations of his son—could understand. With the discovery, announcement, and eventual edition of Berengar's only extant text, Lessing saw himself furthering the Lutheran cause. He made Berengar out to be a Martin Luther *avant la lettre* who opposed the concept of transubstantiation even as he affirmed the notion of real presence.[4] Thus, Lessing rejects the appropriation of Berengar by the Reformed Church, which had claimed him as the ancestor of their spiritualist understanding of the sacrament of the altar. Instead Lessing aligned Berengar—and to a certain extent himself—with the Lutheran position; whether this is correct or incorrect exceeds the

[3] The translation is mine. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, ed. Wilfried Barner, 12 vols. (Frankfurt am Main 1988), 11/2: 32.

[4] On medieval discussions of transubstantiation and real presence, see Gary Macy's contribution to this volume.

scope of this article.[5] What interests me more is how Lessing construes Berengar's concept of the eucharistic sign, which is, as the letter indicates, for Lessing also Luther's.

The announcement, or as the full German title reads: "Berengarius Turonensis: oder Ankündigung eines wichtigen Werkes desselben, wovon in der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel ein Manuscript befindlich, welches bisher unerkannt geblieben," yields very little conceptually.[6] Ninety-five per cent of the text is concerned with the chronology of the long drawn-out eucharistic controversy that spanned almost all of Berengar's adult life. Only in the last chapter does Lessing situate Berengar's doctrine of the Eucharist vis-à-vis other prominent positions and account for its semiotic status. He emphasizes again that no Church or denomination can lay claim to him "that takes the visible parts of the Holy Supper to be mere signs, that admits no other participation than a spiritual one; and, furthermore, for which this spiritual participation is nothing more than an attribution of faith . . . For Berengarius taught and confessed a true and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ."[7] Alluding to Huldrych Zwingli's reading of the *est* in the eucharistic utterance as *significat* he asks, "Where has Berengarius ever given a hint that the word *to be* means as much as *to signify* to him?" Whereas Zwingli and Clericus, whose account of Berengar Lessing addresses here directly, understand the eucharistic sign "as a thing which prompts us to remember another thing without therefore necessarily receiving and possessing the latter by receiving and possessing the former," Berengar considers the bread and the wine on the altar as "signs," but only "insofar they are the visible under and with

[5] In fact, Luther vehemently rejected Berengar's theology of the Eucharist. Berengar probably did take a much more spiritualist stance than Luther, who aligned himself with Catholic dogma when it came to the issue of real presence. At the same time, Berengar took a less spiritualist position than for instance Zwingli. For the Reformation's relation to Berengar, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge 2006).

[6] In English: "Berengarius Turonensis, or announcement of an important work of His, which is contained in the Ducal Library in Wolfenbüttel and which has remained hitherto unknown." See Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 9–126. I will translate Lessing's German in the main body of the text and provide the original in the footnotes when the German phrasing is significant.

[7] Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 118: "Wenn es eine Kirche, oder Gemeinden einer Kirche giebt, welche die sichtbaren Stücke des Abendmahls für bloße Zeichen erkennen, welche keinen andern Genuß darin zugeben, als einen geistlichen, welchen dieser geistliche Genuß weiter nichts als eine Zurechnung des Glaubens ist: so können diese Kirche, diese Gemeinden, keinen Anspruch auf die Bestimmung des Berengarius machen. Denn Berengarius lehrte und bekannte eine wahre, wesentliche Gegenwart des Leibes und Blutes."

which we believe really to receive the invisible."[8] Thus, he could not be further away from the crude realism of some of his opponents. One of them, Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, extracted from Berengar a toughly worded confession at Pope Nicholas II's council (1059) that stated:

> The bread and wine which are set upon the altar, after consecration are not sacrament alone, but also are the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and in sensory fashion and not only as a sacrament but in truth are handled and broken by the hands of the priests, and ground between the teeth of the faithful.[9]

According to Lessing, Berengar did not deny that the consecrated elements of bread and wine underwent a change, only that this change entailed, as the theory of transubstantiation stipulated, that the species wholly cease to be bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ come into existence. Thus, Lessing sees Berengar as attempting to discover a *via media* between mere symbolism and simple realism, between the Eucharist as "mere sign" ("bloßes Zeichen") and as "sign transformed into the thing itself " ("in das Ding selbst verwandeltes Zeichen").[10] This "third doctrine" ("dritte Lehre") Lessing calls—without further commentary or explanation—"the doctrine of the pregnant sign" ("die Lehre von den prägnanten Zeichen"), and the eucharistic sign a "pregnant sign" ("prägnantes Zeichen").[11] Every reader of Lessing will recognize this attribute "prägnant" from his famous *Laocoön* essay written and published four years earlier. There he uses "prägnant" as a synonym for the German "fruchtbar," which means "fertile" or "generative," to describe and conceptualize the ideal aesthetic sign.[12]

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[8] Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 121: "Es ist wahr, auch er [Berengarius; my addition] nennet das Brod und den Wein *Zeichen*: nemlich in so fern sie das Sichtbare sind, unter welchem und mit welchem wir das Unsichtbare wirklich zu erhalten *glauben* [my emphasis]. Aber ist das der Sinn, den Clericus mit dem Worte *Zeichen* verband? Gewiß nicht; ihm hieß ein Zeichen nichts als ein Ding, woran man sich eines andern Ding erinnern kann, ohne daß man darum, indem man jenes besitzt oder überkömmt, auch notwendig dieses besitzen oder überkommen muß."

[9] From Berengar's oath, the so-called "Ego Berengarius," trans. Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, in *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079* (New York 2003), p. 19.

[10] Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 125.

[11] Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 125.

[12] While stemming from the Latin *praegnans*, the German noun "Prägnanz" is used in rhetorical and aesthetic theory and has the meaning of clarity and conciseness. For its usage in the eighteenth century, see Hans Adler, "Prägnanz—Eine Denkfigur des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Literatur und Geschichte. Festschrift für Wulf Koepke zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Menger (Amsterdam 1998), pp. 15–34. For its connection to the sphere of biological reproduction, see David Wellbery, "Das Gesetz der Schönheit. Lessings Ästhetik der

Four years later Lessing is less forthcoming and ends his text just after having introduced this *tertium* so that we can only speculate about its precise meaning. But rather than simply reading Berengar's "prägnantes Zeichen" in light of Lessing's "fruchtbare Zeichen" from the *Laocoön* essay (which would be the more philologically sound thing to do, given that it preceded the Wolfenbüttler *Gelegenheitsarbeit*), I would like to suggest reversing the direction: What if it were possible to consider Lessing's semiotic theory in light of Berengar's and Luther's theologies of the Eucharist, in other words, in light of the semiotic *episteme* that Enlightenment aesthetics was working to overthrow? What if Lessing's concept of the ideal sign were obliquely patterned on the eucharistic sign and its evidentiary presence? Then Lessing's aesthetic theory would not be so much overcoming theology's representational paradigm as simultaneously effacing and integrating it. By aligning the "Prägnanz" of aesthetic signs with the "Prägnanz" of Berengar's eucharistic sign, which he further aligns with Luther's doctrinal position, Lessing renders his aesthetic theory ultimately a Lutheran project—carrying on not only the semiotic legacy of Luther's sacramental theology, but also the media reform initiated by the Lutheran Reformation.

This may seem surprising, given the *Laocoön* essay's animosity towards religious art in general and Christian art in particular. Lessing counts religion as one of the "external constraints" ("äußerliche Zwänge") that infringes on art's autonomy. In fact, religious art falls, strictly speaking, outside the realm of art as defined by Lessing:

> I should prefer that only those be called works of art in which the artist had occasion to show himself as such and in which beauty was his first and ultimate aim. None of the others, which betray too obvious traces of religious conventions, deserves this name because in their case the artist did not create for art's sake, but his art was merely a handmaid of religion, which stressed meaning more than beauty in the material subjects it allotted to art for execution.[13]

In contrast to Christian art, which is subject to the laws of religion, Greek art obeys only the law of beauty; and only by exclusively subjecting itself to this law does it achieve complete autonomy. Thus, art becomes secular when it gives itself its own laws; when it, literally, operates autonomously.

Repräsentation," in *Was heißt Darstellen*? ed. Christian Hart-Nibbrig (Frankfurt am Main 1994), p. 180.

[13] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick (Baltimore, London, 1984), pp. 55–56.

In its stubborn refusal to obey only the law of beauty, Christian art moves dangerously close to the ugly. Not coincidentally in the context of his discussion of the representation of the ugly and disgusting, Lessing explicitly treats the body of Christ. Since it concludes Lessing's long series of examples of ugliness, one could even argue that the body of Christ constitutes the disgusting *par excellence*. Consequently, Christ appears not in the glory of his transfigured, resurrected body, but as a stinking corpse:

> Pordenone pictures one of the bystanders holding his nose. Richardson objects to this on the ground that Christ has not been dead long enough for this body to have begun to putrefy. But in the case of the resurrection of Lazarus he believes that the painter might be allowed to depict some of the bystanders in such an attitude, because the story expressly states that his body had already begun to smell. To my mind this representation would be unthinkable here, too, for not only does actual stench, but even the very idea of it, awaken a feeling of disgust.[14]

What appears so disgusting to Lessing is not the smell itself which the painting cannot convey, but rather the structure of this representation in which the level of the represented and the level of representation are conflated or, to put it more succinctly, the disgusting erases the distinction between imitation and reality: "But whether or not we believe the object to be real, the disagreeable sensation of disgust results, by virtue of the law of our imagination, from the mere mental image."[15] Or as Lessing remarked in the previously quoted passage: "Not only [...] actual stench, but even the very idea of it, awaken[s] the feeling of disgust." He concludes, "Feelings of disgust are therefore always real and never imitations."[16] There is no difference between the representation of the disgusting and a disgusting representation. In representing the disgusting, the representation becomes real—at least in its effect on the recipient who is so absorbed by this that he forgets that the disgusting object is not really present. Paradoxically, the representation of the disgusting achieves what representation is supposed to achieve according to Lessing, namely to make "the subject so sensate [...], that we are more vividly conscious than the words"[17]

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[14] Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 137.

[15] Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 126. See also Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 5/2: 169: "Die widrige Empfindung des Ekels aber erfolgt, vermöge des Gesetzes der Einbildungskraft auf die bloße Vorstellung in der Seele, der Gegenstand mag für wirklich gehalten werden oder nicht."

[16] Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 126. See also Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 5/2: 169: "Die Empfindungen des Ekels sind also allezeit Natur, niemals Nachahmung."

[17] My translation. The entire passage reads: "... jeder Zug, jede Verbindung mehrerer Züge, durch die uns der Dichter seinen Gegenstand so sinnlich macht, daß wir uns dieses

or, more generally, the means of representation—but, of course, by turning it on its head. The disgusting is, as David Wellbery has observed, "unsublatable sensuousness" ("unaufhebbare Sinnlichkeit").[18] At the same time, the disgusting artwork draws the recipient's attention to its status as an artwork. Unlike Aristotle, whom Lessing cites in this context, and whose disgust is mitigated by the realization that the object represented is nothing more than a representation, Lessing's disgust is deepened by that very same realization: "But even this pleasure is constantly interrupted by the thought that art has been put to such a bad use, and this consideration will seldom fail to bring about a feeling of contempt for the artist."[19] Whatever little pleasure there is to be had from beholding Pordenone's depiction of Christ's decomposing body is thwarted by the realization that it is a misallocation of artistic resources, and with this realization, the effect of the real, that it is "always nature and never imitation," which characterizes the representation of the disgusting is destroyed. Therefore, the disgusting artwork is characterized by a paradoxical self-contradiction: It is simultaneously hyper-real and hyper-artificial.

This paradoxical self-contradiction also characterizes the concept of sacramental representation central to Christian thought and practice. Like the disgusting representation, a sacramental sign presents itself qua sign with an undeniable insistence and force. Instead of sublating itself, as linguistic signs of poetry are supposed to do, a sacramental sign insists, like the disgusting representation, on its unsublatable reality or, theologically speaking, it is really present; and yet, just like the disgusting representation, it never denies its status as sign. With the exception of bleeding hosts and other miracles, the bread and the wine endure as the visible signs of the really present body and blood of Christ. I would thus contend that Lessing's distaste with Christ's body in art and with Christian art in general is motivated as much by this mode of representation as by the represented itself. His reaction to the disgusting spectacle of Christ's stinking corpse is homologous to his reaction to the sacramental sign as a mode of representation—not the least because the latter is founded in the former. It should thus not come as a surprise that everything about Laocoön that may allude to the *figura Christi*, most notably a too drastic

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Gegenstandes deutlicher bewußt werden, als seiner Worte…" see Lessing, *Werke und Briefe* 5/2: 113.

[18] Wellbery, "Das Gesetz der Schönheit," p. 193.

[19] Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 137.

expression of pain and suffering, is deemed ugly by Lessing and seen as inappropriate to art.

The story I have presented so far sounds familiar. It is a story of emancipation and secularization or, put more concretely, of art, which previously had been in the service of religion, becoming autonomous and secular. As I have tried to show, this emancipation concerns as much the artwork's content as its form, the level of the representation as much as the level of represented. On the latter, Laocoön's body in pain displaces Christ's; on the former, signs characterized by their insistent materiality and opacity give way to a semiotics predicated on the medial self-suspension and transparency.

But it is also the myth the Enlightenment fabricated about its own origin and relation vis-à-vis the past. Thus, simply retelling that story would mean uncritically buying into the ideology of the Enlightenment. Perhaps, however, Lessing's story of Laocoön is not so simple. It is true that the *Laocoön* essay displaces the Christian body or the body of Christ and replaces it with a classical body. Lessing, thereby, continues Winckelmann's project, whose exhortation to imitate the Greeks instead of the transcendental example of Christ strove to inaugurate a fundamental reorientation of aesthetics. But Lessing's attempt to articulate an aesthetics based on a "body in pain"[20] that is not Christian should make one pause, particularly if one gives the Laocoön group a closer, albeit cursory look. Most notable is, of course, that both Christ and Laocoön are "Schmerzensmänner," that is men of pain and sorrow. Both are usually framed by two other figures, in Christ's case by the two thieves Dismas and Gestas (or Mary and John), and in Laocoön's case by his two sons, resulting in triadic constellations. The formal, but by no means superficial, parallels do not end there. Laocoön's *contraposto* mirrors the contorted posture that many depictions give Christ on the cross. In fact, the discovery of the Laocoön statue in 1506 was stylistically very influential for a number of Renaissance artists—particularly Michelangelo, who supposedly was present at its excavation and who later appropriated Laocoön's *contraposto* for a drawing of Christ hanging on the cross.[21] But the similarities are not merely formal. The

[20] I borrow this elegant phrase from Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York, 1985). Simon Richter, *Laocoon's Body and the Aesthetics of Pain: Winckelmann, Lessing, Herder, Moritz, Goethe* (Detroit, 1992), has traced eighteenth-century treatments of the Laocoön group under similar auspices.

[21] Cf. Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 2–17.

figure of Laocoön exhibits a number of other features associated with the iconographic repertoire of late medieval depictions of Christ as the man of sorrows. Like Christ, he sports a side wound. While Christ's is located on his right side, Laocoön's left side is pierced by the bite of one of the snakes. Laocoön's "painful contraction of the stomach, which is," according to Lessing, "so expressive"[22] recalls the emaciated abdomen of the suffering savior. And Lessing's insistent focus on the scream echoes the cry Christ let out on the cross. In the eyes of a Christian beholder, these iconographic details activate the soteriological dimension of the snakes attacking Laocoön and his sons, since Christ as the second Adam nullifies the work of the snake in paradise by sacrificing himself on the cross. The last parallel points to the most substantive similarity, namely that both Christ and Laocoön are priests, sacrificers who are sacrificed. Lessing takes up the motif of sacrifice at a number of pivotal points in the *Laocoön* essay.

Let me try to summarize what I think is happening here. The simultaneous effacement and integration of the Christian sacred is not confined to the representation, as in the case of the aesthetic sign, but also extends to the represented when Lessing takes up and reconfigures Christian iconography. Lessing is not simply turning his back on Christian aesthetics and iconography. It finds its way into his text in veiled, disfigured, and, ultimately, reconfigured form. This seemingly secular text stages an underhanded but complex engagement with the sacred—classical as well as Christian. In fact, the classical, pagan sacred, in the *Gestalt* of the priest Laocoön, who is sacrificed while performing a sacrifice, functions as a relay for accessing and harnessing the Christian sacred. It is as if one's own Christian sacred has become alien and foreign in the process of secularization and desacralization, while the foreign classical sacred has become, by virtue of its distance, much more familiar and palatable. As we have seen in the case of Pordenone's stinking corpse of Christ, one's own sacred is perceived as repulsive and threatening to the integrity of the (secular) subject. In order to tame one's own Christian sacred and reintegrate it into the new secular aesthetics, Lessing takes a double detour: first, via the foreign classical sacred; and second, by way of aesthetization. Both bring about a distancing that mitigates the insistent reality and materiality of one's own Christian sacred. Moreover, the defunctionalization effected by the aesthetization interrupts its salvational efficacy. Thus, only via the detour of the classical sacred in the *Gestalt* of a beautiful artwork can

[22] Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 37.

one's own Christian sacred be appropriated by a secular aesthetics. But this aesthetic desacralization of one's own Christian sacred is not a secularization pure and simple, since it concomitantly and conversely leads to a resacralization of aesthetics.

In order to spell this out more fully I return to Lessing's reading of Berengar and his concept of the eucharistic sign as a "pregnant sign." According to Lessing, Berengar believes both in the real presence and the status of the Eucharist as a sign or s*acramentum*. Lessing stresses that "Berengarius taught and confessed the true and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ,"[23] and that at the same time "he calls bread and wine signs: namely, insofar as they are the visible under which and with which we *believe* [my emphasis] to receive the invisible in reality."[24] Thus, Berengar paradoxically agrees with the two "extreme" positions, mere realism and mere symbolism and, simultaneously, disagrees with them. Lessing resolves the paradox that Berengar both agrees and disagrees with the realist as well as the symbolist position by reorienting the mediation which the eucharistic sign effects. The Eucharist is a sign in that it relates the visible bread and wine to the true and present body and blood of Christ which remain invisible, rather than mediating between the absent body and blood of Christ and the present bread and wine—as the symbolist position has it. The semioticity of the Eucharist is, thus, a function of the difference between its visible outside and its invisible inside.

The crux of Berengar's (and Luther's) position, according to Lessing, is that Berengar refuses to give up one position in favor of the other. He seeks to uphold both the Eucharist's status as a sign and the real presence of the signified, that is, of the true body and blood of Christ. The Eucharist is simultaneously a sign as well as the real thing. By contrast, the doctrine of the "sign transformed into the thing itself" denies the Eucharist's status as a sign after the consecration; conversely, the doctrine of the "mere sign" rejects the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in favor of its semioticity. In the case of the former, the thing consumes the sign, and in the case of the latter the sign displaces the thing. To put it more technically, there is for Berengar neither the *sacramentum* without the *res* nor the *res* without the *sacramentum*. The consecration, thus, makes the species holy and effective signs communicating the body and blood of Christ to the believer, but they are not so absolutely and totally the

[23] Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 118.
[24] Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 121. Cf. footnote 8 for the German original.

body as to eliminate their semioticity. After consecration, both *sacramentum* and *res* retain their proper being. As Henry Chadwick terms it, to lose the *sacramentum* is to lose access to the *res*.[25] If we translate the different positions regarding the eucharistic sign into Lessing's semiotic theory, then the "sign transformed into the thing itself" would be a case of insistent materiality or "unsublatable sensuousness." In the doctrine of the "mere sign," the Eucharist would be characterized by "unaufhebbare Künstlichkeit" or "unsublatable artificiality"—to play on Wellbery's phrase. The concept of the "pregnant sign" is, therefore, an attempt to evade somehow this mutual and reciprocal exclusion and to link thing and sign inextricably.

If one turns to the subjective reality of the eucharistic sign, which Lessing links to faith, an inverse, but corresponding constellation is at work. The doctrine of the "sign transformed into the thing itself," according to which an objective reality is created by divine action, seems to render faith largely obsolete. In contrast, the spiritualist position makes salvation solely dependent on faith, since the Eucharist lacks substantial and sacrificial reality. The notion of the "pregnant sign" addresses the problem of how faith can be maintained in the presence of the sacred. Conversely, it ensures that the presence of the sacred is not dependent on faith alone and, thus, closes the door on the dangerous possibility of total subjectification. To be sure, the reception of the invisible, but true and real body of Christ happens through faith. Yet, it is the eucharistic sign "under which and with which we believe to receive the invisible in reality." In other words, the real presence is a concomitant effect of the eucharistic sign, faith the mode of its reception which merely actualizes it. Berengar's "pregnant sign," thus, maintains the coexistence of faith and reality; a coexistence severed by both extreme positions.

Of course, this does not yet explain how the Eucharist as "pregnant sign" mediates between thing and sign, reality and faith. Lessing's remarks are parsimonious in this regard, but they do point the way for an admittedly somewhat speculative reconstruction. What characterizes the realist and the spiritualist doctrines of the eucharistic sign according to Lessing is that they both are essentially static and deny that change in a real and true sense occurs in the course of the consecration. For the spiritualists, change is irrelevant. Bread and wine are and remain nothing but "mere signs" that signify something irreducibly absent. In the case of the doctrine

[25] Henry Chadwick, "Ego Berengarius," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 40 (1989): 425.

of the "sign transformed into the thing itself," the argument is more complicated. For does not the sign get "transformed" into "the thing itself"? In other words, does not realist doctrine advocate an emphatic notion of change? Quite the contrary, as Lessing's Berengar argues.

Anachronistically, Berengar criticizes—much like Luther—the doctrine of transubstantiation for being unable to account for any real change "by being on the one hand a true destruction and on the other hand a new creation."[26] In a sense, the concept of transubstantiation papers over the gap, however minute, between the bread and the wine and Christ's body and blood. One substance ceases, while another comes into being—without a continuity or connection between the two. In other words, there is no real change happening in transubstantiation. Yet, the "miraculous transformation" that "bread and wine" undergo "in virtue of the consecration" is for Lessing's Berengar the *punctum saliens* of his concept of the eucharistic sign. And apparently the "Prägnanz" of Berengar's "prägnanten Zeichen" facilitates this "miraculous transformation." Pregnancy, thus, denotes the generative power of the eucharistic sign which brings about the real presence of Christ's body and blood. Similarly, it functions as the relay between "mere sign" and "sign transformed into the thing itself," between absence and presence by simultaneously separating and conjoining them.

Since Lessing's "Berengarius Turonensis" breaks off with the introduction of the concept of the "pregnant," we have to return to the *Laocoön* essay for a better understanding of the Eucharist's pregnancy. There "Prägnanz" and "Fruchtbarkeit" refer to the capacity of aesthetic signs to generate in the recipient the most vivid and sensate representations of their objects.[27] Lessing writes:

> But only that which gives free rein to the imagination is effective ["fruchtbar"]. The more we see, the more we must be able to imagine [literally: to add in/by thought]. And the more we add in our imagination, the more we must think or *believe* [my emphasis] to see.[28]

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[26] Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 7: 122–123.

[27] The best treatment of Lessing's notion of the sign is still David Wellbery, *Lessing's Laocoon: Semiotics and Aesthetics in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge and New York, 1984).

[28] Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 19. See also Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 5/2: 32: "Dasjenige aber nur allein ist furchtbar, was der Einbildungskraft freies Spiel läßt. Je mehr wir sehen, desto mehr müssen wir hinzu denken können. Je mehr wir darzu denken, desto mehr müssen wir zu sehen *glauben* [my emphasis]."

Imagination or "Einbildungskraft" is, thus, the faculty that answers and enacts the "Prägnanz." According to Lessing, those signs are "prägnant" that leave the imagination complete autonomy. The ensuing "Spiel" or "play" is a complex interplay between seeing and thinking. What is seen prompts the mind to go beyond and generate additional thoughts and images. And these additional thoughts and images, fabricated by the imagination, retroact on vision causing it to see more than there is to see; in other words, to see something that is not to be seen, in short, to visualize the invisible. Since the beautiful is characterized in Lessing's eyes by its capability to evoke those mental images and thoughts, he can conclude: "For that which we find beautiful in a work of art is beautiful not to our eyes but to our imagination through our eyes."[29] Let me note that this imaginative seeing is one in which we "*believe* to see," in other words, in which vision becomes as much a function of believing as of physical sight. To most readers, the use of "zu sehen glauben" ("believe to see") to describe the effect of the pregnant sign is entirely innocuous in the context of the *Laocoön* essay, but in the context of Berengar's eucharistic theology it seems much less so—particularly since the German "Glaube" denotes both "belief" and "faith." For a properly trained Lutheran such as Lessing, "Glaube" in the sense of faith would indeed apply to the phenomenon he is attempting to describe, given that Luther, following Hebrews 11:1 (according to which faith is the "evidence of things not seen"), understands faith as the ability to see past the visible and recognize the invisible which lies behind it.[30]

The direction of the imagination and the generation of mental representations, elicited by a pregnant signs, are media specific. Lessing makes clear that the imaginative supplementation works differently for painting and poetry:

> Painting can use only a single moment of an action in its coexisting compositions and must therefore choose the one which is most suggestive [actually: the most pregnant] and from which the preceding and succeeding actions are most easily comprehensible. Similarly, poetry in its progressive imitations can use only one single property of a body. It must therefore choose

[29] Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 41.

[30] Cf. Paul Althaus, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers* (Gütersloh, 1962), p. 58; Alister E. McGrath, *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough* (Oxford, London, 1985), p. 168.

> that one which awakens the most vivid image of the body, looked at from the point of view under which poetry can best use it.[31]

The imagination supplements one medium with the other and, thus, transcends their respective representational limitations. In the case of painting, it narrativizes the image, in the case of poetry, it visualizes the narrative. Of course, the imaginative supplement is far from medially neutral or indifferent. Imagination, in German, "Einbildungskraft," is literally the faculty responsible for evoking mental images. In other words, no matter what artistic medium a beholder faces, his imagination inevitably converts what it receives into mental images. But how does this square with Lessing's pronounced and predictably Lutheran preference for poetry over painting, the linguistic over the visual? Again, a fine distinction is called for here. Lessing's critique is not directed at the image as such, but at its specific medial *Gestalt*. The problem with material images is that they resist their supplementation and displacement by mental images. They are what Lessing terms "paintable" ("malbar") but not necessarily "painterly" ("malerisch").[32] This is a crucial and decisive difference, as Lessing makes clear in the essay's pivotal fourteenth chapter:

> A poetic picture is not necessarily something that can be converted into a material painting; but every detail, every combination of details by which the poet makes his subject so vivid and palpable to us that we become more conscious of the subject than of his words, is picturesque, is a picture, because it brings us closer to that degree of illusion which the material painting is especially qualified to produce, and which for us can best and most easily be abstracted from the material picture.[33]

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[31] Lessing, *Laocoön*, pp. 78–79. See also Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 5/2: 117: "Die Malerei kann in ihren koexistierenden Kompositionen nur einen einzigen Augenblick der Handlung nutzen, und muß daher den *prägnantesten* [my emphasis] wählen, aus welchem das Vorhergehende und Folgende am begreiflichsten wird. Eben so kann auch die Poesie in ihren fortschreitenden Nachahmungen nur eine einzige Eigenschaft der Körper nutzen, und muß daher diejenige wählen, welche das sinnlichste Bild des Körpers von der Seite erwecket, von welcher sie ihn braucht."

[32] Lessing distinguishes between events or plots that are easily depicted through painting and those that are more easily represented by poetry and the mental images it evokes: "There are paintable and unpaintable facts, and the historian can relate the most paintable ones just as unpicturesquely as the poet is able to present the most unpaintable ones in a picturesque way." See Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 74; and Lessing, *Werke und Briefe* 5/2: 113: "Es gibt malbare und unmalbare Facta, und der Geschichtschreiber kann die malbarsten eben so unmalerisch erzählen, als der Dichter die unmalbarsten malerisch darzustellen vermögend ist."

[33] Lessing, *Laocoön*, pp. 74–75. See also Lessing, *Werke und Briefe* 5/2: 113: "Ein poetisches Gemälde ist nicht notwendig das, was in ein materielles Gemälde zu verwandeln ist; sondern jeder Zug, jede Verbindung mehrerer Züge, durch die uns der Dichter seinen

The degree to which a poetic representation appears as "malerisch" depends on the degree of its medial self-suspension, since the poet "paints" only when the recipient is more absorbed by the represented object than he is aware of the means of representation, or to put it more succinctly, when he forgets the mediality of the text. Due to its medial transparency and immateriality, poetry is better able to generate such an imaginary presence to mind than painting whose opaque materiality resists such a self-suspension. Because painting hinders the imagination and its production of mental images, which poetry evokes so effortlessly, the latter is superior to the former. Thus, illusion or the presence to mind of the represented object is a function of the self-suspension or "Prägnanz" of the representational medium.

"Prägnanz," thus, denotes the force of the representation to produce in the hearer or reader an autoptic and unmediated vision of the "thing itself." By effecting the transition from reading or hearing to seeing, in other words, by turning words into images, "Prägnanz" is also responsible for the transformation from arbitrary to natural signs—in Lessing's eyes the ultimate prize to be won by the aesthetic sign. Finally, Lessing denotes with "Prägnanz" the signifying force of the aesthetic sign that elicits in the recipient a "Hinzudenken" or "imagining" which in turn acts back on the sign, transforming its perception in the process. The sign brings about what it signifies. In other words, "Prägnanz" refers also to the performative force of aesthetic representation, and a "prägnantes Zeichen" is always also a performative sign.[34]

Now we are in a better position to determine in which ways Berengar's and Luther's notion of the Eucharist may have served as a model of the aesthetic sign for Lessing. Most important for Lessing is probably that the eucharistic sign is "prägnant" or performative in its most paradigmatic and emphatic sense. The utterance of the consecratory formula *hoc est corpus meum* enacts and produces that which it names. The *corpus*

Gegenstand so sinnlich macht, daß wir uns dieses Gegenstandes deutlicher bewußt werden, als seiner Worte, heißt malerisch, heißt ein Gemälde, weil es uns dem Grade der Illusion näher bringt, dessen das materielle Gemälde besonders fähig ist, der sich von dem materiellen Gemälde am ersten und leichtesten abstrahieren lassen."

[34] Of course, not in the classical sense of the performative, which is taken to refer to promises, excuses, and other similar speech acts, but rather in the sense of producing the illusionary reference of the signified. The perfect aesthetic sign creates such a vivid impression in the minds of its recipients that they forget the mediatedness of that impression and believe it to come from the object itself. In that sense, the aesthetic sign brings about that which it signifies.

meum, existentially absent in the most radical way, is rendered "really" present. It does so without doing away with the body of the sign. Whereas eucharistic realism emphasizes the resistant materiality of the "sign transformed into the thing itself," eucharistic symbolism is predicated on the immateriality of the "mere sign." In contrast, the pregnant eucharistic sign becomes the paradigm of the self-suspension of semiotic or, more precisely, sacramental sensuality and materiality. Bread and wine cannot remain "mere" bread and wine, but must be transformed into something else. At the same time, they cannot simply become the "thing itself," but must remain. The Eucharist as a pregnant sign resolves these mutually exclusive stipulations by actually enacting the "sublation" of the "unsublatable sensuousness" and, thus, giving the faithful (seemingly) unmediated access to the true body and blood of Christ. Thereby, the pregnant eucharistic sign also achieves the transformation from arbitrary to natural sign—the telos of Lessing's aesthetic sign. On the one hand, the bread as a "mere sign" is a paradigm of arbitrariness, because it is radically incommensurable with its signified and referent, the true body of Christ and, thus, depends on an act of divine institution. Put simply, since bread and wine have no intrinsic connection to the body and blood, they only signify the latter because Christ decreed it so in the New Testament. On the other hand, the "sign transformed into the thing itself" can be considered, due to its virtual identity with its referent, the ultimate natural sign. If the sign is the thing itself, their relation (which paradoxically persists) is necessary and substantial. The Eucharist as pregnant sign facilitates the transition between the two, as it starts out as an arbitrary sign and is transformed into a natural sign by bringing about the reality it signifies.

Concomitantly, the Eucharist also bridges the medial difference between word and image. The eucharistic utterance *hoc est corpus meum* stages a singular and at the same time iterative conjunction of hearing and seeing, word and body, the visible and the invisible—which found their most vivid expression in the late medieval epidemics of bleeding host miracles. The moment when words or, more precisely, the Word becomes flesh resembles the moment when language becomes image. Of course, it is not quite so simple, as the eucharistic sign frustrates physical vision—a fact which scandalized radical reformers such as Zwingli and others. There is nothing to see, just bread and wine, not the true body and blood of Christ. It is unpaintable, but seems to be, if we take seriously the attribute "pregnant," pictorial or "picturesque." *Hoc est corpus meum* shows no real body, but stimulates the inner vision to imagine precisely the body designated. What it "shows" is, thus, only accessible to inner

vision. Or put more paradoxically, it gives to see that there is nothing to see but with the eyes of faith.

III

Of course, it is impossible to know for certain whether Lessing's conceptualization of the aesthetic sign in the *Laocoön* essay was directly informed by the Lutheran concept of the eucharistic sign, or whether he was simply reminded of his own notion of aesthetic representation when he read Berengar's text, whose notion of sacramental representation Lessing understood to adumbrate Luther's. Whereas the evidence for the latter is incontrovertible, the evidence for the former is largely circumstantial. Nonetheless, the overwhelming similarities, down to the identical terminology employed, make a strong case that Enlightenment aesthetics are a continuation of the Lutheran reform of religious and profane media. Whether wittingly or unwittingly, Lessing understands the aesthetic sign to function in similar ways as the eucharistic sign of Berengar and Luther and, thus, this secular construct is doing much of same work as its religious counterpart. Just as the sacramental representation enacted in the Eucharist grounds the whole of Christian semiotics, the aesthetic sign forms the centerpiece of Lessing's Enlightenment semiotics. And just as the Eucharist stands in the service of the work of redemption, Lessing's pregnant representation redeems the body in pain in his secular aesthetics. In the course of the eighteenth century, at the latest with Friedrich Schiller's notion of aesthetic education, aesthetics and art became the medium of a secular salvation modeled on its religious predecessor. Particularly, the terrors of the French Revolution, which German observers interpreted as a tragic relapse, proved that the project of secular salvation through intellectual and moral enlightenment had failed and that new means to reform and redeem fallen man were needed. These new means were the arts. Since the return to paradise was foreclosed, art was charged to reestablish it on higher level. So despite owing its existence to an act of emancipation, Enlightenment art and aesthetics could not deny their soteriological mission.

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